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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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# Daily Report
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## Politburo Meets, Reinstates Former Members

*AU1311191789 Sofia BTA in English
1917 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Sofia, November 13 (BTA)—At its meeting today, the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] considered current matters concerning the fulfillment of the country's socio-economic development plan until the end of the year.

Measures were outlined in keeping with the resolutions of the Plenum of the CC of the BCP held on November 10, 1989 to arrange a special meeting of the CC of the BCP which will consider the overall state of the country and will work out a programme to activate and dynamize the processes of restructuring and to make preparations for the Fourteenth BCP Congress.

The Politburo resolved to convene the Central Committee at a plenum in the coming days at which it will consider some current and organisational matters.

Mr Petur Mladenov briefed the Politburo on his telephone conversation with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. The two had emphasized that they will keep working for wider links between the BCP and the CPSU, between Bulgaria and the USSR, for strengthening Bulgaro-Soviet friendship and will interact in the implementation of the revolutionary restructuring in the two countries in the best interests of the two countries' fraternal peoples.

The participants in the meeting considered some other matters, too. On the motion of the chairman of the BCP Central Auditing and Control Commission, the Politburo decided to restore Mr Boris Spasov, Mr Georgi Mishev, Mr Georgi Tambuev, Mr Ivan Dzadzhev, Ms Koprinka Chervenkova, Ms Maria Boykikeva, Prof Nedyalko Belev, Assoc Prof Nikolay Vasilev, Mrs Sonya Bakish, Mr Khristo Smolenov and Mr Chavdar Kyuranov to their party membership, to consider their membership uninterrupted and to recommend that the ones dismissed be reinstated in their former jobs.

## National Assembly To Convene 17 Nov

*AU1311181589 Sofia BTA in English
1752 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Sofia, November 13 (BTA)—The State Council of Bulgaria convenes the Ninth National Assembly to its 11th session on November 17, 1989 at 1100 Hours.

## Editorial Notes 'Turning Point' of Plenum

*AU1311144089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 12 Nov 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "Steadily Along The Chosen Road"]

[Text] It can already be said that the November plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee will be an exceptional turning point of importance for the party, the state, the people, and mankind. We all still have to analyze and think over the plenum's results and more clearly and specifically find the realm of our own activity in the name of decisively restructuring socialism in our country.

The plenum adopted two very important decisions:

—It announced that the 14th BCP Congress will take place in the last quarter of 1990;

—It elected Comrade Petur Mladenov as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

The plenum expressed profound gratitude to Comrade Todor Zhivkov for his long-lasting and selfless activity and service to the party and the people.

Since the day before yesterday [10 November] Comrade Petur Mladenov, a representative of the young generation of leaders, has been the head of a tested staff of the BCP. The correctness of this decision was unanimously confirmed during the broad discussion of his candidacy, which took place at the BCP Central Committee plenum. The fact that after this discussion—which contained many recommendations about the work of the Central Committee and many conclusions about the country's state at the present time—he was elected with one opposing vote, categorically proves the party's indestructible unity and the readiness of the entire Central Committee to steadily march along the road of revolutionary restructuring and the renewal of socialism.

Now the world of socialism is experiencing an exceptionally important moment in its development. History has given us an opportunity to make up for our omissions and to overcome the ossified and dogmatic concepts, and thus to actually bring about comprehensive progress in our countries at an accelerated pace, to breathe new breath into socialism, and to utilize its possibilities and advantages. We must do all this with the participation of man and with the active participation of every man.

In what direction will the party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria now march, after the change at the top?

The BCP Central Committee general secretary replied to this question clearly in his concluding speech at the plenum. Short in length, the speech was indeed a concentrated program related to the main directions of our efforts and the main problems that we must resolve. Readers have probably heard the speech or read it in the newspapers. Everyone has had the opportunity to make his own conclusions and think about the words of the new party leader. At this time we would like to outline only a few aspects and stress certain very important elements of this programmatic speech.

The first such element is the categorically confirmed stand about the motherland's road: *We see restructuring in Bulgaria solely and exclusively within the framework of socialism, in the name of socialism, and along the road of socialism.* The Bulgarian people have made their historically correct choice and will not deviate from it. There have been many difficulties and mistakes; however, this is the only road that represents a rescue mission for the people, the state, and the country's citizens. We base our hopes for personal and family well-being on the successful further development of socialist Bulgaria and the implementation of revolutionary restructuring in all spheres of life.

This truth acquires new force when viewed against the background of the main thing that we must begin to do now, namely, *to place human personality, man, and his well-being and development at the center of our attention.* Thus all changes in the economy, for example, must be directed toward man and guarantee the prosperity and possibilities of progress to every Bulgarian citizen and family. This obviously requires us to make more serious efforts to quickly restructure the economy. In this enterprise we must give priority to the production of consumer goods as well as goods that will satisfy the constantly growing requirements and criteria of Bulgarian citizens.

The party's efforts to satisfy the material and social needs and requirements of the people cannot be separated from the efforts to achieve the intellectual development of the personality, to create a fresh social atmosphere, and to unite the nation. The task has clearly been posed: *All issues that guarantee society's democratic structure and the freedom of personality on the basis of comprehensively developing democracy must be resolved by means of legislation. Glasnost as a principle of party and state policy* is an exceptionally important condition for constructing Bulgaria as a modern socialist and law-governed state. Active dialogue with the people, both in the process of discussing issues of social importance and in adopting important decisions, as well as the calm attitude toward the manifestation of pluralism in the opinions—those are the directions of the future work and the realm for an exceptionally important role on the part of the press, television, radio, the party organizations, labor collectives, and the district and village communities.

Our party and state continue their peace-constructing and peace-loving foreign policy course. The People's Republic of Bulgaria enjoys a well-deserved authority throughout the world, which is the result of its initiative, constructive contribution to the work of multilateral and bilateral meetings, steady willingness to develop mutually beneficial friendly relations, and cooperate, rather than to exacerbate the situation. Comrade Petur Mladenov confirmed the invariability of this line, and especially outlined the priority direction of the country's foreign policy—*close cooperation with the other socialist countries.* The Bulgarian Communists and people gladly accept the words that were said about the role of the Soviet Union in the processes of restructuring, and sincerely wish the Soviet people comprehensive successes along this road. We confirm that *also in the future Bulgaria will remain a firm unit of the socialist community and will actively work to assert the role and authority of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA under modern conditions.*

Almost 2 and ½ years have passed since the July plenum, which adopted the concept on socialist Bulgaria's revolutionary restructuring. Unfortunately, as is well-known, no significant breakthrough has been achieved in any direction. This is the harsh truth. This truth is felt by every worker at his place of work. It confuses him, undermines his confidence, and emasculates his spirit and energy. If we underestimate this circumstance and fail to note the original reason and cause that restructuring is slipping, we shall very soon lose our confidence and energy, which are so necessary in this historic cause.

Where is the answer to the question why restructuring has not brought about the desired breakthrough? The general secretary of the BCP Central Committee said in his concluding speech: *"Seeking a way out of the situation and thinking about the future of socialism in Bulgaria, we correctly posed ourselves qualitatively new tasks. We outlined the ways of solving the problems. However, we did not think that the administrative-command system, which prevailed for decades, would not only not help but would appear to be absolutely unfit and would turn into a breaking force."*

The conclusion is absolutely clear: It is necessary to finally and irreversibly dismantle the administrative-command system and prevent any resurgence. In its place *we must construct a self-managing civic society, organized in a state with a social order freely chosen by the people.*

The BCP will be the driving force and generator of the processes of renewal in our country. It is the initiator and organizer that mobilizes the communists and all working people along the road of restructuring. While guiding the processes of renewal, it must simultaneously restructure itself, and do so ahead of the other social forces. The style and methods of leadership, the criteria of mutual relations, and our notions about rights and obligations must undergo restructuring. Restructuring must be conducted in such a way that both the positive and negative factors are moved out of their condition of anonymity and nobody being responsible. The specific people responsible for specific weaknesses, regardless of their posts, should be pointed out as much as possible and a fresh social atmosphere thus created. We must not be afraid of or persecute criticism that comes from the bottom to the top, and we must do our best to encourage and support the people's initiative. The task is that *the party obtains a new credit from the people and acquires the skill of guiding social development not by the force of government, but through the force of authority, talent, and energy.*

We live in a complex and difficult time. We must resolve crucial problems and achieve decisive breakthroughs in society's socioeconomic and intellectual development. We must prepare for the accountability-election campaign in the party that will precede the 14th BCP Congress, which will take place in the last quarter of 1990.

We are confronted with strenuous, constructive, and effective work. This is so because even the best intentions and ideas and the most attractive declarations and promises are not worth a penny if they are not supported by real deeds. *"Every step of real movement is worth more than a dozen programs,"*—this what Karl Marx, the creator of our scientific theory, bequeathed to us.

Complete unity of words and deeds—this is the main precondition of success in our cause.

## Speakers at 10 Nov Plenum Noted

*AU1411085289*

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 11 November carries on pages 2, 3 and 4, 8,500 words of "abridged versions, based on BTA reports," on statements made by participants in the 10 November Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum: "On the Process of Restructuring at the Present Stage of Development, for Preparing the 14th BCP Congress."

A 2,000-word version of the statement delivered by Atanas Konstantinov, BCP Central Committee member and first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad BCP Oblast Committee, is published on page 2. Konstantinov dwells on topical tasks of the oblast party organizations, generally speaking, and on the specific problems of Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, in particular. He assures the plenum that the "political situation is calm and characterized by the local population's energetic efforts." Nevertheless, Konstantinov lists a few shortcomings in "economic and technological restructuring." He criticizes the fact that greater resources are invested in the developed areas of Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, while less attention is devoted to underdeveloped areas, so that "the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer." He adds that "the economicllay different level of development places the municipalities on unequal levels of partnership."

Konstantinov also speaks about local party affairs. Analyzing the atmosphere of party meetings and conferences, he points out that "some controversial, topical issues are absent from the agenda of party organizations' meetings and are being discussed in the corridors or in the street instead." Konstantinov adds that "restructruing processes are not accepted in the same way by all. Cases of confusion, demagagogical attitudes, and efforts to satisfy personal ambitions are not rare. The speaker further notes that "in numerous cases the information we provide for the public is delayed and one-sided, which results in disinformation and all kinds of untruthful rumors." Konstantinov's statement ends with a review of local cadre problems which, according to him, should be solved on a local scale: "In this context, I think that the BCP Central Committee Secretariat should transfer cadre problems related to first secretaries of municipal party committees and municipal people's councils to the oblast level," Konstantinov points out in closing his statement.

A 1,500-word statement by Ivan Stanev, BCP Central Committee member, brigade leader of a fitters' brigade at the Kremikovtsi plant building administration, and Hero of Socialist Labor, on pages 2 and 3, opens with a few general remarks on the present plenum. "All our party and the entire people awaited today's plenum with great attention, which is quite understandable. No one can be indifferent to the question of our future, to the future fate of socialism, of the party, the state, and of our entire society. What will be the role and place of the workers class under these circumstances, how will the basic principle of socialism—each according to his ability, to each according to his work—be applied in the future? What kind of changes will occur in the economic base and in the political superstructure? Which ethical values should be preserved and further developed in the future, and which ones should be revised?"

Ivan Stanev further dwells on his particular sphere of activities, the construction sector, where he criticizes "the persistent prevalence of levelling, lack of personal responsibility, poor labor and technological discipline," and other such shortcomings. He also deals with "deformations" in the investment policy of newly established companies, resulting from "the long-standing practice of wasting resources and applying the administrative-command approach to national resources." Stanev dwells on shortcomings in the investment programs and processes, and stresses the advantages of the piece-work system, which, he says, should be fully applied both in the case of new building projects, as well as in completing existing installations. The speaker "expressed concern about the situation of the construction sphere, generally speaking," pointing out that "tremendous national and manpower resources are frozen in uncompleted construction projects" and stating that "uncompleted building projects exercise the strongest inflation pressure upon our country's economy."

A 1,500-word statement on page 3 by Kuncho Kunev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Lovech Oblast People's Council Executive Committee, praises the "documents of the 10 November Plenum as a confirmation of the Central Committee's firm resolve to proceed along the chosen path of renewal, as another proof of the party's ability to make correct evaluations in its further progress, and consistently to implement its designs for the future." Kunev dwells on administrative and management issues in Lovech Oblast, devoting special attention to the achievements and shortcomings of local company-based organization and economic restructuring.

Dealing with agriculture, Kunev points out that the "question of the financial backing of agriculture with foreign currency is still unresolved," and urges a prompt solution of this problem.

The speaker also deals with socialist self-management on a local scale and insists on the requirement of "transforming and consolidating the municipalities and townships into basic territorial links of socialist self-management." He also refers to the necessity of "expanding work with the public in townships and municipalities in connection with preserving and renewing the Bulgarian people's ancient traditions," adding that this is particularly "urgent today, at the turning point of restructuring, so that the Bulgarian people and our nation should be even more strongly rallied."

Kunev admits that "our region is also responsible for the shortage of foodstuffs in our country, and this applies in particular to the shortage of milk and dairy products as a result of the unfulfilled milk production plan." He pledges on behalf of the "Communists and working people of his oblast," that "we shall actively work for the implementation of the decisions that the present BCP Central Committee Plenum is expected to adopt."

A 1,800-word statement by Trifon Pashov, BCP Central Committee member and minister of transportation, reviews the "stormy development of scientific-technical revolution, new political thinking, and restructuring in the USSR and the other socialist countries," referring to worldwide political and economic integration processes."

Minister Pashov further deals with the situation of the Bulgarian transportation system, listing successes and dwelling on certain shortcomings related to technical and organizational problems. He points out in this connection: "The realities and difficulties resulting from the mass exodus of our compatriots to Turkey diverted the attention of cadres at all levels from the essential tasks of the companies. Efforts were focused on the urgent problems of compensating for shortcomings and making provisions for the plan's fulfillment."

Dealing with specific, topical tasks of the transportation sector, Trifon Pashov proposes the selling of shares and bonds of the "Bulgarian State Railroad Company" for the construction of important railroad sectors, recalling that "the first Bulgarian railroad lines were also built by shareholder companies." He also suggests more cooperation with foreign companies and remarks that "in connection with financing the Varna-Ilichovsk Ferryboat Complex, specific projects for increasing transit railroad transport from neighbor countries are in the process of preparation."

Pashov describes the "renewal of the transportation pool" as one of the most urgent problems in the transportation sector and mentions cooperation with Yugoslavia in connection with the delivery of new engines, railroad cars, and other equipment, as very useful.

In the case of maritime and river transport Minister Pashov also mentions the useful participation of foreign banks and shipping companies.

Pashov ends his statement with the following remark: "The BCP is the sole, leading political force in our country that is not only designated by history to map out the line of policy for the development of socialist society, but is also destined to be the motor of restructuring on the basis of its organizational and political work, and of its cadre policy."

A 1,500-word statement by Mincho Chuntov, BCP Central Committee member and secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, on pages 3 and 4, opens with praises for the "BCP, which is the initiator and promoter of restructuring, the only force capable of clearly and precisely defining the correct strategic course of our social development." Chuntov goes on to say: "It is not our purpose to weaken the party, it is not a nebulous social-democratic, reformist, or dogmatic-demagogic view of the current processes and phenomena that we aspire to, but a cohesion of the party's and the people's ranks from ideological positions, from unmistakable class-party stands for the sake of renewal of socialism and communism. A strong party means real restructuring and real restructuring requires a strong party."

Chuntov describes the "enthusiasm" of Sofia Communists in supporting the July Concept and their sense of responsibility in defending the restructuring process. He goes on to say: "We are confronted with numerous difficulties, but the political capital accumulated by the party is real, it is a motivation for progress in coping with the new tasks of social development. As a party, we have no reason to be ashamed of anything whatsoever, we have nothing to hide from our people, and we have every reason to be the political vanguard of restructuring."

Mincho Chuntov further deals with economic issues, dwelling on domestic market shortages, which "even more exacerbated the people's critical attitudes," he notes.

Referring to the situation of local government in Sofia City, Chuntov points out that "bureaucracy continues to stifle numerous initiatives. The municipal people's councils have not yet developed as living organisms, where the current and future problems of Sofia citizens should be resolved by the people's majority vote, and not by an adminstrative majority of bureaucrats," Chuntov adds.

Dealing with social life in the Bulgarian capital, Chuntov points out the importance of "democratization, glasnost, and self-management," stressing that "at the initiative and with the cooperation of social organizations and movements, libraries, cultural clubs, scientific, and creative unions in Sofia, hundreds of professional, youth, artistic, and creative clubs for sharing interests and cultural education, as well as other independent societies, debating clubs, groups, and formations have been established." The speaker pledges that the "Sofia City BCP Committee will also in the future render comprehensive assistance to all these formations which on the basis of socialism are concerned about the fate of our homeland and make their genuine contribution to the new model of socialism."

Chuntov closes his statement by saying that "Sofia Communists support the conclusions and postulates of the plenum report on further changes in the statute and activities of the party. The success of restructuring our society shall depend on the success restructuring within the party," he adds.

A 1,500-word report on the statement made by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] opens with the following remarks: "The fact that the Politburo report to the present plenum was published in advance unmistakably shows the importance which the party attaches to glasnost and its readiness to consult the people on crucial problems of our development." Tanchev further notes that "some people are trying to call attention solely to shortcomings, deformations, and contradictions in our life. Others manifest 'impatience' and understand the goals of restructuring as a speedy rushing through historical stages of development."

Tanchev stresses: "We, in our country, prevented the processes of renewal from being used for non-socialist and controversial goals, we did not let ourselves be pushed along the path of hostility and chaos. Bulgaria embarked upon the path of intensive restructuring without any upheavals and under conditions of great political stability." Tanchev attributes this success to the BCP and pledges loyalty on behalf of the Agrarian Union.

After elaborating on the contribution of the united agrarians to economic restructuring and the introduction of self-management and company-based organization, Tanchev dwells at length on economic and agricultural topics, after which he reviews political and constitutional reforms, and points out the role of the National Assembly, saying: "Under the new conditons all prerequisites have been established for enhancing the role of the National Assembly as a supreme representative organ of state power." He further states: "It is a logical conclusion that the National Assembly should concentrate its efforts upon restructuring problems. Bulgaria could be a country with an original parliamentarian practice based on the existence of a two-party political system."

Dwelling on the questions of pluralism, Tanchev says: "The report submitted to the present plenum stresses that the construction of a socialist, civic society is indissolubly linked with the expansion of political pluralism. In this respect we are not starting from zero, because we have our valuable experience accumulated in the past, especially over the period following the BCP Central Committee in April 1956." Tanchev further points out in this respect: "As we have stressed on several occasions, we are in favor of a pluralism that should serve the cause of socialism and contribute to averting deformations in the political superstructure. The idea of socialist pluralism should not be used for destabilzing our society." Tanchev reiterates that "we, the united agrarians welcomed the report of the Politburo with great satisfaction," and ends his statement by declaring that the "BZNS is an unshakably loyal ally of the BCP."

The last, 120-word report on page 4 summarizes the statement by Orlin Orlinov, BCP Central Committee member and chief editor of the satirical newspaper STURSHEL. The speaker dwells on the "glorious history of the BCP" and points out that we "should define the April 1956 Plenum as a stage in our party's history and upsurge and we should begin to climb new heights, to struggle for new successes. The report adds that Orlinov "devoted special attention to the role of the intelligentsia in the processes of renewal," without providing details.

## BZNS Secretary Greets Mladenov on Election

*AU1311095089 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 12 Nov 89 p 1*

[Greetings message from Petur Tanchev, BZNS secretary, to Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, issued in Sofia on 11 November]

[Text] To Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]

Esteemed Comrade Mladenov,

I most warmly greet you on your election as BCP Central Committee general secretary. In your person we greet a loyal son of the party and the people, who has all the qualities for and enjoys great confidence in assuming the highly responsible mission of heading the great activity to implement the historic cause of restructuring.

Having grown up in a family with a bold revolutionary spirit and having developed in the Komsomol school, you asserted yourself as a noted representative of the younger generation of leading party and state figures with broad erudition, rich comprehensive experience, and skill to work with the people.

You enjoy great respect in our country and abroad as a long-time leader of Bulgarian diplomatic activity, aimed at conducting Bulgaria's consistent and constructive foreign policy, peace and good-neighborly relations in the Balkans, detente in international relations, constructing the all-European house and a world free of nuclear weapons and violence, and asserting the new political thinking.

Your contribution to developing and promoting Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation in the interest of our fraternal peoples, socialism, and peace, is remarkable.

We, the allied agrarians, highly value your role in strengthening the unity and unity of action between the

BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], as a political and constructive factor in our motherland's progress.

On behalf of the BZNS Permanent Board, I would like to assure you that also during the complex and turning-point time of restructuring the allied agrarians will be a firm and loyal ally of the Communists, and together with them will work to construct the motherland as a modern socialist and law-governed democratic state.

I am convinced that under your leadership a new page will be turned in the activity to activate and introduce dynamics into the processes of renewal along the road that we have firmly selected, in the name of prosperity for the individual and the entire people.

I wish you many successes, inexhaustible force, and energy in your comprehensive activity for the happiness and prosperity of the people and motherland.

Petur Tanchev, BZNS secretary

Sofia, 11 November, 1989

### Stanishev Meets Soviet Friendship Society Group

*AU0411204789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Nov 89*

[Text] Comrade Dimitur Stanishev received a delegation from the central leadership of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Societies led by its first deputy chairman Vladimir Bazovskiy. The delegation is visiting Bulgarian in connection with the celebration of the 72d anniversary of the October Revolution.

The guests were briefed on the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party concerned with implementing the July Concept for a new model of socialism in Bulgaria and raising Bulgarian-Soviet relations to a qualitatively new level.

### Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet Soviet Leaders

*AU0811123889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Nov 89 p 1*

[Greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers—date and place not given]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we extend our most sincere congratulations to you, to the Soviet Communists, and to all Soviet people.

The October Revolution opened a new era in the historical development of mankind. Its constructive cause embodied the working people's firm resolve to proceed along the chosen path of social and national freedom, justice, and equal rights. Entire generations of Soviet people devoted their inspired efforts and creative energies to the triumph of the revolutionary ideals in defending the achievements of the October Revolution with heroic enthusiasm and manly courage.

The fundamental restructuring and renewal of society accomplished at the initiative of Lenin's party is a direct continuation and further development of the October Revolution on a qualitatively new level. The ideas of restructuring which respond to many human aspirations evoked exceptional interest and sympathy throughout the world. It is to the practical implementation of these ideas that the peoples link their hopes for a peaceful and humane world, for social progress, for solving the global problems of contemporary civilization.

The philosophy and practice of new political thinking, the initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union for averting the danger of nuclear war, for disarmament, and for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security has acquired realistic dimensions promoting the improvement of the international atmosphere, the intensification of the dialogue between states, and the practical settlement of regional conflicts.

In proceeding along the path of the October Revolution, the Bulgarian Communists and all working people in our country are convinced that the common goals and trends of restructuring which the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR share, the fraternal solidarity between the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the CPSU, the new forms of joint cooperation in all spheres of life will more fully reveal the constructive potential of socialism and will establish even more favorable opportunities for the intensification of comprehensive cooperation among our fraternal parties, countries, and peoples.

With all our hearts we wish you, dear comrades, and all Soviet people, success in their work and in your revolutionary changes, so that you may worthily prepare for the 28th CPSU Congress.

Signed: Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

## Lukanov Meets French Prime Minister in Paris

*AU0611193089 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 6 Nov 89*

[Text] Paris, November 6 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, who is paying a business visit to France, today was received by Mr Michel Rocard, prime minister of France. They discussed the situation and the prospects of the two countries' economic relations. The conclusion was that they are in a process of activation and extensive development, which began as a result of Mr Francois Mitterrand's official visit to Bulgaria in January this year and the talks he had with Mr Todor Zhivkov.

The two sides discussed the implementation of some big joint projects and the possibility of setting up new enterprises on the basis of Bulgarian and French investments. The great importance of the agreement of the two countries on mutual encouragement and protection of investments the Bulgarian side pointed out the importance of Bulgaro-French economic relations at the present stage for the wider opening of the Bulgarian economy to the world. The French prime minister said that based on traditional friendship between the two countries and the contemporary realities in Europe, France also attaches great importance to carrying out more active dialogue and cooperation with Bulgaria. It was pointed out that it is necessary to speed up the negotiations on the conclusion of an agreement between Bulgaria and the European Economic Community, the president of which at the moment is France. Some problems related to Bulgaria's candidacy for joining GATT were considered in the aspect of multilateral cooperation.

On behalf of the leader of the Bulgarian Government, Mr Georgi Atanasov, Mr Andrey Lukanov extended an invitation to Mr Michel Rocard, prime minister of France, to pay an official visit to Bulgaria at his convenience.

### Talks Noted

*AU0811101889 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 8 Nov 89*

["Economic Cooperation With France"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA)—Yesterday ended the working visit in France of Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations.

At a meeting with Mr Pierre Beregovoy, minister of state for the economy, finance and the budget, the sides stressed the favourable political and legal preconditions for encouragement of investments which have been created recently. In this connection it was pointed out that the traditional forms of financing the cooperation should be replaced by modern forms like leasing, joint management of large projects, establishing companies with joint capitals, etc.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, who is also a chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Joint Bulgaro-French Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation, had a meeting with Mr Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade and chairman of the French part of the committee. He had also talks with Mr Olivier Stirn, minister delegate attached to the minister of industry and territorial development responsible for tourism, as well as with leaders of the National Council of French Industrialists. The French side expressed interest in the essence and course of the economic reform in Bulgaria. The representatives of the business circles expressed interest also in the additional resolutions adopted recently for the application of the joint-stock principle and in the opportunities for the participation of foreign partners in production cooperation and joint ventures on third markets. The sides discussed the prospects for cooperation in air transport, cellulose and paper industry, the chemical and farmaceutic industry, mechanical engineering and other spheres.

The representatives of Bulgarian companies, banks, trade and other organizations who accompanied Mr Lukanov had meetings in Lyon and Metz, where they had talks with local industrialists and other members of the business circles on establishing of direct economic contacts with Bulgarian enterprises, as well as on the development of the cooperation between the two countries on a regional level as well.

## Decree on Medical Services Issued

*AU0611141989*

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 3 November on pages 1 and 2 carries the 1,200-word "Decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on Addenda to the Law on People's Health," and on page 2 the 2,500-word "Regulation on Collective and Personal Labor Activity of Health-Care Workers in Rendering Additional Health Assistance and Services," adopted by a "Decree of the Council of Ministers of 2 November."

The first document, which becomes Chapter 13, paragraphs 97-109, of the Law on People's Health, announces the establishment of a Health Insurance Fund for Bulgarian citizens, and stipulates "the obligatory health insurance of all Bulgarian citizens permanently residing in Bulgaria, of foreign citizens and persons without citizenship who are allowed to reside permanently in the People's Republic of Bulgaria." It also applies to "health insurance for citizens of other countries with which Bulgaria has an appropriate agreement."

The document specifies the various kinds of medical treatment and related services to which persons insured under the law are entitled, as well as the payments that are to be made by the insured persons, economic enterprises, various organizations and departments, and municipal organs.

The "Regulation on Collective and Personal Labor Activity of Health-Care Workers in Rendering Additional Health Assistance and Services" consists of 6 sections. The first section, entitled "General Provisions," lists the medical and dental activities and services that are encompassed by the decree. It stresses that medical doctors and dentists engaged in private practice "do not have the right to issue documents on temporary disability and rehabilitation, or to send patients to medical commissions." In addition, they do not have the right "to issue documents certifying the condition of the patients' health" or "to perform abortions." The payments they are entitled to receive "are set by the minister of public health and social welfare."

The second section, entitled "Additional Health Assistance and Services Rendered by Individual Health-Care Workers in Health-Care Establishments or the Homes of Citizens," stipulates that "medical workers who wish to engage in rendering additional health-care assistance and services must sign a contract with the leader of the relevant health-care establishment." The specific details that must be incorporated in the contract, such as the obligations of the health-care establishment or the payments it can demand, are pointed out.

The third section is entitled "Additional Health-Care Assistance and Services Rendered by Health-Care Collectives and Cooperatives." According to it, health-care workers "may form health-care collectives" on the basis of "constituent contracts." Such collectives "will function in accordance with the Law on Cooperative Organizations," and must sign specific contracts with the relevant medical establishments.

The fourth section is entitled "Taxation, Financing, and Social Security." It points out that persons engaged in private medical activity "will be taxed in accordance to their income and the provisions of the Law on General Income." In addition, it is stressed that medical workers who engage in private activity on the basis of the decree "may obtain credits from the State Saving Bank to equip their offices."

The fifth section, entitled "Accountability and Control" specifies the "professional and other responsibilities" of the medical workers engaged in private practice and the control over their activities which will be exercised by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare."

The final section entitled "Administrative-Penal, Property, and Other Responsibilities," points out that those engaged in private medical practice "are responsible on the basis of Article 32 of the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties for violations of the order of organizing and providing additional health-care assistance and services." Specific penalties are not set by the decree.

## Decree on Arts Activities Published

*AU0311140389 Sofia BTA in English 1257 GMT 3 Nov 89*

[Text] Sofia, November 3 (BTA)—The NARODNA KULTURA weekly today carries a draft decree on economic activity in artistic culture and book publishing. It regulates economic activity in culture proceeding from the company-based economy decree adopted earlier this year and modified to match a number of specific peculiarities of culture.

The draft decree says that economic activity in artistic culture and book publishing will be carried out in compliance with the state cultural policy. The chairman of the Committee for Culture will authorize the airing of television and radio broadcasts, the publishing and printing of books, the publication of newspapers, magazines and other periodicals, the brokerage of transactions involving cultural products with foreign persons, impresario and producer operations.

Citizens may carry out independently and without registering companies the following activities: staging exhibitions and sale of works of art by their authors, organisation and presentation of performances and other cultural events by the performers themselves, manufacture and trade in arts and crafts products, trade in books, periodicals and other printed matter, in films, gramophone records, sound recordings, video recordings under contracts with the respective companies, public organisations or state bodies, as well as other activities determined by the Council of Ministers.

Except in the cases listed in the decree, copyright holders and performers do not need a special licence to carry out transactions, personally or through an agent of their choice, involving their works, performances, copyrights and other similar rights in this country and abroad. Works of value to the nation can be exported by permission of the chairman of the Committee for Culture. Such works can be transferred to foreign persons if the chairman of the Committee for Culture attests that the works have been rejected for purchase inside the country. The Council of Ministers determines the procedures under which the works of value to the nation are identified, priced and purchased.

The decree says that foreign persons may carry out economic activity in artistic culture and book publishing in Bulgaria by permission of the chairman of the Committee for Culture and under the procedures of State Council Decree No. 56, which was published at the beginning of this year.

The state is to regulate and support economic activity in artistic culture through government contracts, share in financing cultural undertakings and various incentives and subsidies. The Council of Ministers can grant partial or full tax exemption to individual economic activities in artistic culture, and companies operating in all branches of the economy can invest part of their pre-tax profits into non-economic activities of the intellectual sphere.

The draft economic regulations for cultural activity, which have also been published, lay down the fundamental principles of self-management and economic activity of the organisations working in culture, irrespective of their departmental and territorial affiliation.

## Draft Law on National Education Published

*AU0411183589 Sofia BTA in English 1406 GMT 4 Nov 89*

[Text] Sofia, November 4 (BTA)—The Ministry of National Education presented the draft of the national education bill to teachers and educationalists for discussion.

The changes that have piled up in the Bulgarian education over the last years necessitated the working out of this document. The decisions of the July Plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] (1987) are reflected in it. An important moment in the document is the age children should start going to school. Up to now it was 7 years of age, and now children will study from 6 to 16. Education is considered an integrated process which will be carried out not only at school but after finishing it as well, i.e., the purpose is to close the cycle of education and qualification. Thus the bill will be related to the research work and higher education bill.

It is suggested that democratization in the administration and management of education should be broadened. The teachers' rights and duties are specified. Conditions are created for the teacher to choose independently part of the subject matter within the framework of the curriculum. Pupils are also given the right to choose; there will be an obligatory minimum and the remaining part of the subject matter will depend on the young boys' and girls' wishes and interests. They will be able to choose freely their future profession and specialty. Vocational preparation will obligatorily end by specializing in a definite profession, but polytechnical training can be completed with or without specialization depending on the desire or the possibilities of the pupil. Secondary school graduates, having successfully passed their school-leaving examinations, will get diplomas and have the right to continue their studies at higher education establishments. If such examinations are not passed, pupils will get certificates evidencing they have finished the last form of a secondary school and can, as an exception, be appointed to jobs for which secondary education is required.

For the first time there is a separate section in the bill related to parents; their responsibilities and obligations in bringing up their children are stipulated therein. The bodies of management and self-management of national education are also specified: the congress of national education, national education councils, school boards of trustees, school councils. Provisions are made as to the financing of educative work, in which companies and other units interested in training personnel will be engaged.

## Media React to GDR Events, Border Opening

### Berlin Wall 'Fossil'

*AU1311144789 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 5*

["(VOD)"-signed article: "The Wall Has Come Down—A House Will Go Up"]

[Text] We are writing about this elsewhere in this issue. Late on Thursday [9 November] night the barriers were raised and the citizens of the GDR's capital city streamed through the crossing points between Berlin and West Berlin. They crossed and crossed back again in order to make sure through their thousands that they can go where they have not been able to go since August 1961—behind the Wall.

Now—according to a GDR Government decision—whoever wants to visit West Berlin does not have to submit anything other than his identification papers. Whoever wants permission to travel abroad across the GDR-FRG border only has to wait. The main reason for the existence of the Berlin Wall—an attempt to prevent people from fleeing to the West—has thus lost all meaning. Yesterday the TASS news agency wrote: These were 2 days when Europe lived de facto without the Berlin Wall.

The wall has ceased to be an obstacle to the freedom of movement. However, at the same time, this does not mean that the border has also ceased to exist. It continues to exist, just like the border between both German states. The "only" change is that it is permeable from both sides.

The day when the Wall actually ceased to exist, a wall labeled by some Western politicians as the most monstrous political construction of the century will certainly enter the history books as the laying of the foundations of another structure, which we are now building and which we are beginning to call the common European home. This fossil from the cold war years and this symbol of the division of Europe, along which many people have perished, has come down in order to not prevent our continent, the people from the East and West, from learning how to live together after years of silent proximity.

### RUDE PRAVO Criticizes Coverage

*AU1311132589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 3*

[Letter from Lubos Jirasek, Nove Sedlo, Sokolov district, from the "From Letters to the Editor" column: "Glasnost in RUDE PRAVO"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] You now have a beautiful new building equipped with modern machinery. [passage omitted] In some ways, these better working conditions are making themselves felt already—in your reports on sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for example. The coverage of developments in the other countries of our socialist bloc is not so good. I am told in a well-informed, comprehensive, and specific way why workers in France, the Republic of South Africa, in the Philippines, and everywhere else, provided that it is far enough from here, went on strike. However, the impression arises that no one has the guts to comment and to express his own view on what is happening nearby. Do a few short columns on demonstrations in the GDR, taken, moreover, from the GDR press, suffice for our citizen to assess the situation? I do not speak German. If I did, I would probably know more from FRG television. How am I supposed to form an opinion on what is happening in the GDR? Such silence, or the mere reproduction of reports from other information media, do not remind me of various resolutions on public access to information and so-called glasnost. How are we supposed to gain experiences and beware of mistakes from the work and struggles of workers and communist parties and trade unions and develop our society and homeland? I wish that things in our country would change for the better, so that our system truly surpasses capitalism. I am therefore asking you to do everything in your power for it to happen.

### Changes 'Breathtaking'

*AU1311133989 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 5*

[Milan Vodicka commentary: "Berlin Is Now a City of Changes"]

[Text] It all seems so terribly long ago. Two years ago, Kurt Hager—until recently, the man in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] responsible for ideology—declared, in reference to Soviet perestroyka and development in the GDR: "When the neighbors are painting, we do not have to wallpaper immediately."

Wir tapezieren unser Haus—"We are wallpapering our house" has recently appeared on banners carried by demonstrators. The pace at which the policy of renewal is taking off is breathtaking. It also seems so to those who should be steering this change, because if they put an exclamation mark after the word "wende"—turnaround—many people replace it with a question mark since, in their opinion, the proposed changes do not in all respects reflect what the country needs for real restructuring.

This week in Berlin the government and former SED Central Committee resigned. After the new Politburo was formed, four people resigned from it because they had not won the trust of the organizations from which they had come. This characterizes not only the dramatic and, frequently, breakneck development but also the fact that the party leadership has still not managed to regain the trust it has lost—despite the fact that the many changes announced recently seem revolutionary in comparison to the rigidity of recent years and months.

However, the problem lies in the late reaction. If not so long ago Honecker had come up with what is being proposed by the Krenz leadership he would, obviously, be a national hero. He did not do this and was succeeded by Egon Krenz who, however, is proposing today what should have been proposed yesterday. But today what has to be offered to the people—something also being pointed out by the GDR press—is what they should be able to reckon with the day after tomorrow. Only then the initiative will be fully on the SED's side.

Meanwhile, this is not the case. The reasons why in the past the party's proposals lagged behind the population's demands were analyzed by Egon Krenz at the SED Central Committee plenum. They stemmed from overlooking problems, from a subjective evaluation, and from an image being foisted upon people that corresponded less and less to everyday experience. He also spoke about the wait-and-see tactic adopted toward development in the USSR, in other words, about relying on the possibility that Gorbachev's perestroyka will not be a success. If the party itself (more precisely, its leadership at that time) was not willing to react to the new reality then the response was not only the mass exodus of people but also the widespread demonstrations and appeals for an open dialogue. According to Egon Krenz: "This popular movement has initiated the process of change and reappraisal."

The new Krenz leadership is, as recent days have shown, prepared to adapt itself to the time and to society's demands. In order for it to fully develop reforms, it needs to get rid of the feeling that it is a step behind the people's wishes. This pressure sometimes leads to half-hearted and hasty steps such as, for example, the imperfect draft traveling bill which has already been withdrawn. At the same time, after the changes made in the Politburo, there can be no doubt about the SED's attempt to attune its steps to the demands of the time, whether this involves the economy, the legal issue that surrounds making the activity of the opposition New Forum possible, or the willingness to hold free elections with all their consequences, that is, with the other political parties having an equal share of responsibility in running the GDR.

Development is still under way. However, recent events make it decidedly justifiable to state that the GDR has set out upon a road of reform. It is impossible to reverse this development. Incidentally, it seems that in today's GDR there is no one who would want to attempt this.

### 'Momentous Period' Viewed

*LD1311163589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Frantisek Prachar commentary; Malickaj comments are recorded in Slovak]

[Text] We begin with events in the GDR, our neighbor. It is no exaggeration to say that they are at the center of attention not only of all the world's political leaders, but also of the media, which are concentrating on analyzing the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] draft action program and on the internal political situation in that country, from which 250,000 of its people have emigrated this year.

This momentous period in the GDR, during which the activity of the revolutionary mass movement has put in action a process of fundamental changes aimed at the renewal of socialism, is being assessed in different ways, of course, and it is being shown increasingly clearly that the events in our neighboring country are also having the effect of polarizing, in particular, the internal political spectrum in the FRG, where the opposition Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] is attempting to formulate a specific program of qualitatively new forms of cooperation between the two German states. In this context there have been proposals for setting up joint ventures, concluding an agreement on the protection of joint investments, and for a number of other steps proposed by the West German opposition.

As time progresses, it is becoming clear that the efforts of the GDR Government and senior party officials are directed at a constructive resolution of all the problems associated with the past, and not at further strictures. Among these are the opening of the border, which is now passable in both directions, and it is this move in particular which many foreign analysts are citing as proof of the fact that the GDR is not abandoning those who have receently left their homeland. In other words, both sides are gradually bringing about the conditions to put the mutual ties between the two German states on a sounder footing while, of course, retaining the fundamental diffferences between their sociopolitical systems.

I asked Slavomir Malickaj, our correspondent in Berlin, to sum up the latest developments in the GDR:

[Begin Malickaj recording] The conclusions of the 10th session of the SED Central Committee were awaited with great interest by the GDR public, because the session was to discuss the party's action program setting out specific policy in the current complex process of political, economic, and social changes in the GDR. There is not yet any document to provide a framework for the wide-ranging debate or to formulate its specific content. That is why the action program is being discussed. It envisages radical reforms in the political economic spheres, referring to the establishment of a democratic coalition government and the formulation of a new election program which will guarantee free, democratic, and secret general elections. Also on the drawing board is a whole series of legislative amendments on travel abroad, the media, criminal law and setting up a constitutional court. By consistently putting its action program into effect, the SED hopes to regain the trust of the people.

Another feature I would like to point out is this: The debate on the formulation of the action program and the 10th session of the SED Central Committee in general have also spurred the rank and file members into action. This was demonstrated graphically by, for example, mass rallies of party members in Berlin at the end of last week, during which they endorsed the policy of renewal and the SED's responsibility for that process. There is now no lack of courage in the SED ranks to speak openly and even critically, and to call things by their proper name.

Today the Central Committee will be discussing a Politburo motion to upgrade the party conference scheduled for December into an extraordinary congress. As Egon Krenz said yesterday, the party can only act if it is united, and only a new Central Committee which enjoys the trust of the rank and file can consistently push ahead with a genuinely radical renewal of socialism in the GDR. [end recording]

That was Slavomir Malickaj, our correspondent, reporting from Berlin.

### SED Plenum Assessed

*AU1311135889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 7*

[Vladimir Plesnik commentary: "A Self-Critical Word"]

[Text] The decision to convene a party conference after 33 years, the contours of an action program outlined in Egon Krenz' nearly 3-hour speech, sharp and occasionally excited discussion statements, and an extensive reconstruction of the political leadership—all this characterized the course, the atmosphere, and the results of the 3-day session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee.

The Central Committee met at a time that is full of tension, domestic political turmoil, a precipitous development of events, and, one might say, also full of question marks. It met at a time of emotional waves alternating with expressions of levelheadedness at numerous discussion forums. It met at a time when the impression could arise that, immediately after taking the initiative into its own hands, the SED is hamstrung by insufficient ability to act and weakened by indecision and passivity at a time when perturbed warnings against the possibility of a split in party ranks had appeared.

The critical, self-critical, realistic, and constructive angle of vision in the program statement demonstrates that the orientation at energetic changes on which GDR Communists have embarked are not mere empty words but real, specific, sometimes surprising—and, let us add, long-awaited—deeds. The democratization of society simply is unthinkable without the development of internal democracy within the Marxist-Leninist Party, without every party member being able to openly express his view and without someone showing an interest in this view. As Christa Hermann, first secretary of the SED Kreis Leadership in Reichenbach, said in the debate, without a speedy renewal of rank-and-file Communists' full trust in the leadership one cannot expect any movement ahead, any movement in the course of which a strong, operative, and active party imbued with new trust in itself will take shape. Without this, it will be impossible to set right the shortcomings that have been laid bare and to find replies to questions being raised by life; and this requires the maximum mobilization of forces.

After days of demonstrations in Berlin and virtually all other larger cities, Wednesday [8 November] morning Communists gathered before the building of their Central Committee, following an appeal from several Berlin primary organizations. What prevailed at this rally was justified criticism of the cheerless state of affairs in society and in the party itself prior to 7 October, coupled with the unambiguous and vigorous conviction that it is necessary to ward off attempts at the absolute negation of everything connected with the 4 decades of the existence and development of the socialist German state. Severe mistakes and a self-satisfaction verging on self-praise on the one hand and unjustified, angry reactions to wise recommendations of friends, the sealing oneself off in an ivory tower, on the other must not repeat themselves because too high a price must be paid for them, the speakers stressed. Precisely these mistakes and other social causes were a key factor in the decision of many GDR citizens to leave their homeland or in their intention to do so, as Egon Krenz said at the session: "Without underrating the influence of the enemy and his intentions and campaign, we must admit that the causes of these painful departures themselves must be sought in our country," he stressed. "Many people lost faith in the possibility of changing social conditions in the GDR and did not see any prospect in life," the general secretary of the SED Central Committee noted.

The problems at the same time encouraged the forces which, on the one hand, saw in the crisis situation a possibility of revenge for their feeling of having been wronged and, on the other, understand the present complicated situation as a long-awaited opportunity to launch their own offensive. But the party, the SED, is here again. This is borne out by voices coming from primary organizations throughout the country, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes in its Friday [10 November] issue.

The 3-day session of the SED Central Committee showed what idea the SED leadership has of its future steps. Everything suggests that the final aim is national consensus, a balanced and equal partnership with the other parties of the National Front in a democratized society. "The aim of the political reform process can only be the attainment of social consent on solving problems within the framework of the socialist social system," Egon Krenz pointed out in his address.

At the session, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee also made a special reference to relations with Czechoslovakia. We welcome the fact that he expressed the GDR's extraordinary interest in cooperation between the CSSR and the GDR. "In developing the traditionally friendly relations with the CSSR, we are prepared to follow new paths and to make far greater use of the potentials of both our states for people's well-being. In the very near future there will be an opportunity to exchange experiences with leading Czechoslovak representatives," he said.

The overall picture of the balance of political forces, which is influenced by the continuation of the SED's efforts to renew trust, will become clearer in the coming days. GDR Communists are entering them with the resolute conviction that modern, dynamic socialism is not in harmony with the previously rigid, ossified approaches, which led the party and society into the present crisis. The party now draws strength from its courage to speak openly, self-critically, honestly, and frankly. It relies on the collectivism of its members and on the awareness of responsibility for the further course of events.

## RUDE PRAVO on Kohl's Poland Visit

*LD0711121389 Prague CTK in English*
*1127 GMT 7 Nov 89*

[Text] Prague Nov 7 (CTK)—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was to pay a visit to the St. Ann Hill near Chelm in award for his promise of economic assistance to Poland, the Czech daily RUDE PRAVO said today.

Commenting on the announcement of a Bonn government's spokesman that Kohl will not visit the place of pilgrimage near Chelm during his visit to Poland on November 9-14, as he originally planned, the paper wrote that at another place Kohl "will pray with the Polish premier for better understanding between the two nations". It said that the Polish side and the FRG opposition had pointed to the inconvenience of the St. Ann Hill, as the Landsmanschafts link the place with the idea of returning the "lost territories" to Germany.

Bonn expected the Polish Government to abandon its negative stance, due to its bad economic situation and meet the demand. It could succeed "if it were not for communist intrigues", i.e. resistance of the Polish United Workers' Party and the paper TRYBUNA LUDU to the trip to Chelm, RUDE PRAVO stressed quoting West German mass media. The Polish communists, however, have done nothing else but clearly indicted their approach to the history and Polish patriotism.

The one to be blamed is now being sought on the Rhine. Springer's WELT AM SONNTAG sees him in the "miserable staff" responsible for Kohl's troubles. Telschik, one of Kohl's advisers, does not want to be the one to be blamed and says that Polish Bishop Nosol bears responsibility as he had invited Kohl and then cancelled the invitation, RUDE PRAVO stressed, adding that "in fact, it is the unrealistic policy of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] that is to be blamed, inspired in this case by Landsmanchafts and the dreams of restoring the country's borders of 1937, the paper wrote.

## Kohl's Statements Criticized

*AU1311172189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak*
*10 Nov 89 p 7*

[Jozef Janto commentary: "Shortsighted and Dangerous"]

[Text] Prior to the current visit by Helmut Kohl, the West German chancellor, to Poland, a sorry incident, to put it mildly, occurred: While he was in Poland, the chancellor wanted to visit St. Ann Hill and talk to Poles of German origin there. On the one hand, the situation is delicate because that mountain, close to Chelm, commemorates the bloody battles between Poles and local German armed units after the First World War and, on the other hand, because by visiting the mountain Kohl would inspire those forces in the FRG that are appealing nonstop for a Germany with its 1937 borders, that is, for Poland's western territories.

In the end, the unsavory political "mini affair" was settled by a compromise, but W. Jaruzelski, the Polish president, demanded that the FRG unequivocally recognize Poland's western borders and that it provide moral and material compensation for the damages sustained by Poland during World War II.

The day before yesterday [8 November], the chancellor delivered a government statement in the Bonn parliament on the state of the nation. Among other things, he declared in it that his country is adhering in all parts to the letter and spirit of the 1970 agreement between the FRG and Poland. Thus far it would be in order. However, unease is aroused by that part of Kohl's statement in which he emphasized that "the German question has not been resolved," something that has been documented by recent development in the GDR. He went so far as to openly dictate what the GDR Government should do (according to him) to satisfy West German demands. Besides this, he left no one in any doubt that he sees a solution to the current problems lying in the GDR being swallowed up by the Bonn state. Thus, he has practically cast doubts upon the post-war arrangement in Western Europe and on all the agreements and treaties that the FRG has concluded with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR! However, it is also possible to read between the lines that Bonn has problems with the settlers from the GDR. The haughty and, at the same time, shortsighted campaign has caused chaos, and now 62,000 former GDR citizens are unemployed in the FRG, tens of thousands do not even have a decent roof over their heads, and others are still crossing the border.

It is true, the most right-wing deputies from his own party, the Christian Democratic Union and from its affiliated party, the Christian Social Union, were not even satisfied with this "ambiguous" statement from their chairman and chancellor. Some of them issued a statement in which it is emphasized that, from a legal point of view, Germany apparently still exists in its 1937 borders and that the GDR is de jure a part of the FRG (at the same time, they "tactfully" kept quiet about Poland's western territories). H. Ehmke, a representative of the opposition Social Democratic Party of Germany, reacted to this statement as if it were incomprehensible, and A. Vollmer, a representative of the Greens, stated that West German politicians do not have the right to lecture the GDR on democracy.

What took place in the Bonn parliament is shortsighted and dangerous. However, it has once again confirmed that there are influential forces in the FRG, which would gladly alter the post-war arrangement on our continent. This should also serve as a sufficient warning to those who complacently say that apparently nationalism does not exist in the FRG and who shut their eyes and plug their ears to neo-Nazism in this country.

### West Berlin Mayor Momper Interviewed

*AU0711151189*

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 November on page 7 carries a 1,300-word interview with West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper by its staff journalist Vladimir Plesnik, headlined "Placing Trust in the Foundations of the European Home." Momper gave the interview to Plesnik in West Berlin "prior to his departure for the CSSR."

In the interview, Momper takes a stand on East-West relations and on the revival of contacts between West Berlin and the socialist countries. He says in this connection that "we do not conceal our sympathies for the processes taking place today in the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland, and surprisingly, also accelerating in the GDR." He goes on to say that West Berlin would like to "enter bilaterally advantageous, really useful cooperation with Czechoslovak enterprises." "At the same time, however, we follow with concern some recent events in Czechoslovakia, during which the measures taken by the Czechoslovak authorities against demonstrators fills us with consternation," Momper says.

In conclusion, answering a question concerning the rise of "neo- Nazi Republicans" in West Berlin, Momper says that the Republicans received so many votes because quite a few people in West Berlin have problems finding housing, a decent job, and, "moreover, they feel threatened by the onslaught of the new arrivals." "each newly built apartment and each newly created job weakens the Republicans. We want to oppose them with political means," Momper concludes.

### USSR's Kolesnikov Interview on Election System

*AU0811131989*

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 November on page 6, under the headline "We Are Looking For Sensible Solutions," carries a 1,600- word interview with Sergey Vladimirovich Kolesnikov, deputy chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee journal KOMMUNIST, by its Moscow correspondent Jan Tihlarik, in which Kolesnikov answers questions about the Soviet electoral system.

Tihlarik claims that some people in the USSR are unhappy because there are very few workers among the people's deputies. He asks whether electing deputies according to so-called "manufacturing electoral districts" appeals to Kolesnikov. In reply Kolesnikov states that "There are various opinions concerning elections according to manufacturing electoral districts. They range from those who assert such opinions unreservedly to those who are absolutely opposed to them. An interesting idea was put forward by Nikolay Travkin, our social thinker. He proposes that a two-chamber soviet be established in local soviets. A chamber elected by people according to their place of residence and a chamber elected on a given territory by the manufacturing collectives."

Another question concerns electing the president directly. Kolesnikov does not consider electing the president directly to be an indication of the democratic nature of the electoral system. He says, "The presidential system does not always have to be as democratic as the system in which a group of representatives elect the head of parliament."

In connection with elections, Tihlarik asks Kolesnikov whether he is counting on an initiative in the localities. Kolesnikov responds, "We are convinced of this. Otherwise elections would not make any sense."

### CTK, Novosti Sign Cooperation Agreement

*LD0911203189 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Prague Nov 9 (CTK)—General Director of the Czechoslovak CTK News Agency Otto Cmolik and Chairman of the Board of the Soviet News Agency Novosti (APN) Albert Vlasov signed here today a new agreement on cooperation between the two agencies.

The aim of this agreement, already the fourth in the line of agreements signed between the two agencies—the first one was signed in 1973, is to create conditions for the further development of the exchange of journalistic materials.

CTK and APN are to closely cooperate in circulating news and pictures on the progress of social and economic restructuring in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, international issues, novelties in the sphere of science and technology and also bulletins, journals, etc.

### Cierna Transloading Station Situation Improving

*AU0711103589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 89 p 1*

["edk"-signed report: "Trains Have Begun To Move"]

[Text] Cierna nad Tisou (Our correspondent)—The complications of Soviet railroads, as reported in an article by the Soviet Union's PRAVDA's Prague correspondent, have caused considerable difficulties for our railroadmen as well. Only on Wednesday last week [25 November] several dozen trains with goods for the USSR were standing in our border railroad stations. According to a check we made at the railroad transloading station in Cierna nad Tisou on Friday [3 November], the situation has considerably changed since.

"The logjam has begun to move," were the first words with which the station chief Engineer Michal Ondic described the situation. "We are in daily contact with our Soviet counterparts. Thanks to this, 6-7 trains on the average are leaving from our side per 24 hours. Last month, however, we even had to arrange auxiliary work for our employees."

A total of 1,359 railroad cars accumulated in Cierna nad Tisou on Friday [3 November]. Some 26 trains, which only Wednesday last week [25 November] were standing in various stations throughout the republic, were waiting for the green light. Now the station dispatches an average of 350 railroad cars to the Soviet Union daily. Thus, the situation has changed for the better. Only one train is waiting in the Streda station, and another one in Velky Hores.

However, the employees of our largest transloading station are still saddled with enough problems. Last month, because of the aforementioned reasons, they dispatched to the USSR 18,343 tonnes of goods less than planned, and work for people was even sought in the nearby cooperatives. In the first 10 months of the year they also have a shortfall—not their fault—of 141,268 tonnes in imports from the Soviet Union. In October alone they imported 85,145 fewer tonnes of goods than planned. However, it is the import of iron ore that is causing them even more worries. On transloading platforms, there remain fewer than 8,000 tonnes, which is less than the so-called operational leftover [operacni zbytek]; trains loaded with ore have been arriving only sporadically. These are the trains that have been on the way for quite some time now.

## Jakes Sends Congratulations to Bulgaria's Mladenov

*AU1311170589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*
*10 Nov 89 p 1*

["(Z)"-signed report: "Congratulations From M. Jakes"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Comrade Petur Mladenov following his election as general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee. The telegram says:

Esteemed Comrade Mladenov,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and on my own behalf, I sincerely congratulate you on your election to the post of general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee.

At the same time, I want to express my sincere conviction that the comprehensive cooperation between our fraternal parties will continue to develop and will contribute to strengthening the rich ties of friendship between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the friendship between the people of both our countries. I wish you, dear Comrade Mladenov, good health and much success in executing your responsible post to benefit the working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and to boost socialism and peace in the world.

## Hungarian TV Anti-Czechoslovak Program Condemned

*AU1311133489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak*
*9 Nov 89 p 7*

[Vojtech Vesely commentary: "A Panorama Test"]

[Excerpts] A crew from Panorama—a foreign and political program shown on Hungarian television—led by Andras Sugar, set out for Czechoslovakia once again and, on Monday [6 November] evening, as usual, began to criticize as soon as people had crowded around the microphone and camera. Sugar compiled a program from statements made by several individuals, a program about which it is necessary to make at least a few comments.

—In connection with the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, entire villages, towns, and districts in our country are falling victim to an ecological catastrophe.

—Panorama has managed to find proof that very many people in Czechoslovakia are raising their voices against the senseless and, moreover, wasteful devastation of the environment.

—Prague appears to be a calm city that is unchanging, but something is brewing beneath the surface. It is difficult to possibly imagine that Czechoslovakia will circumvent Hungarian and Polish events, and, in particular, the giddy GDR events. [passage omitted]

The Panorama crew could do nothing other than turn to the usual sources of opposition opinions, first and foremost, to Vaclav Havel and others. As the saying goes—birds of a feather flock together. They had a word with only a few of them; however, these Czechoslovak citizens unreservedly supported that Hungarian step which will make our huge investment come to nothing. This is an interesting patriotism.... They also agreed that Hungarian and Polish development must influence the situation in the CSSR. This is what particularly concerns them.

It falls to us to once more state that our real "citizens on the street" weathered the test set for them by Panorama with their opinions. They do not agree with everything that they see and experience every day but their reservations, in the end, did not concern the things that A. Sugar demanded and expected from his suggestive questions. This time the examiner flunked the test....

## CSSR-PRC Geology Cooperation Protocol Signed

*AU0911154489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 89 p 2*

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Frantisek Pitra, premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, received Zhu Xun, PRC minister of geology and mineral resources, in Prague on Tuesday [7 November]. They discussed their two countries' scientific-technological cooperation in geology and carrying out surveys for precious minerals, as well as the exchange of experts and the possibility of geological ventures in third countries. X X X

On the same day in Prague, Zhu Xun and Josef Pravda, chairman of the Czech Geological Office, and Jan Kuran, chairman of the Slovak Geological Office, signed a protocol on cooperation in 1990-91.

The cooperation between Czechoslovak and Chinese geologists is developing in accordance with the principles of the agreement concluded in June 1987. The protocol contains 13 points which specifically determine the joint undertakings of the two countries' geologists. Involved, for example, are hydrogeological and engineering-geological work, geological activity aimed at protecting the environment, the method of administering the stocks of industrial minerals, utilizing geothermal energy, surveying for gold-bearing ore, crude oil, and natural gas deposits, and methods of researching hydrogeological conditions for disposal of industrial and communal wastes.

## Natural Gas Exports Discussed With Iran

*LD0711181889 Tehran IRNA in English 1748 GMT 7 Nov 89*

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 7, IRNA—Exports of Iranian natural gas to Czechoslovakia via the Soviet Union was discussed in a meeting between Iranian Ambassador to Prague Hamid Reza Husseini and Czech [as received] Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba in Prague today.

Oil Minister Gholamreza Aqazadeh is to visit Czechoslovakia soon to discuss mutual relations in oil and gas fields with the Czech officials.

Czechoslovakia has also expressed readiness to cooperate in projects for transferring natural gas.

## Commercial Contacts With Chile Resumed

*AU0911153789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 89 p 2*

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] For the first time in 16 years, the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry had a stall providing information at the international fair in Santiago, Chile. Our delegation of representatives of foreign trade enterprises, the Czechoslovak State Bank, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade paid a visit to Chile at the invitation of its National Chamber of Commerce. The visit constituted the resumption of contacts between the commercial circles of the two countries.

## Austrian Bank's Branch Opens in Prague

*AU0811152389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 89 p 6*

[Excerpt] Prague (CTK)—An office representing the Austrian Girozentrale Wien bank began operating in Prague on Monday [6 November]. It will, among other things, concentrate on providing bank credits and close commercial cooperation with Czechoslovak banks, and promote the import and export plans of its clients and the establishment of joint ventures.

The representative office is a contribution to the intensification of Czechoslovak-Austrian economic contacts and thus also to better political relations. Currently, a total of 16 Czechoslovak-Austrian joint ventures exist in the CSSR; they are mostly hotels, and seven enterprises are active in the sphere of industry. [passage omitted]

## Lucan Receives Jewish Congress Representatives

*AU0811145289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 89 p 6*

[Text] Prague (CTK)—At Prague's Hrzane Palace on Monday [6 November] CSSR First Deputy Premier Matej Lucan received Serge Cwajgenbaum, general secretary of the European Jewish Congress, and Maram Stern, representative of the World Jewish Congress in Europe, who have arrived in the CSSR for a visit.

He briefed the guests on the current state of the Czechoslovak economy and further plans for its development. He assured them that—in accordance with its peaceful foreign policy—the CSSR will continue to develop international cooperation in the interest of the consolidation of peace and the reduction of tension.

Serge Cwajgenbaum and Maram Stern briefed the Federal First Deputy Premier in detail on the activity of the Jewish Congress and its endeavor to contribute to understanding among nations and comprehensive cooperation among countries with different social systems.

The reception was attended by Deputy Minister Vladimir Janku, director of the CSSR Government's Church Affairs Secretariat.

## RUDE PRAVO Denies Miroslav Stepan Bribed

*LD1311084589 Prague CTK in English 0720 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Prague Nov 13 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO today condemned rumours, circulated recently, that leading secretary of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Miroslav Stepan had received a bribe worth several tens of thousands of marks from West German firms in order to ensure them priority in the realization of construction projects in Prague.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party daily said rumours must be spoken of seriously as a method of psychological terror against honest people, and went on to note that ever more of them have been appearing lately "frankly speaking, in particular because they are, obviously deliberately, being lent an ear by well-known U.S. radio stations. They are being used also by those among us who want to abuse the atmosphere of social changes we are experiencing", RUDE PRAVO said.

## Arrest of Slovak Priest Javorsky Reported

*AU1011141689 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 10 Nov 89 p 2*

[Text] Slovak Priest Stefan Javorsky, whom the CSSR authorities have banned from exercising his profession, has been arrested by CSSR police near Poprad for "preventing state supervision of the church." In April 1987, the 65-year-old priest had been sentenced to 3 and ½ years in prison. However, until now he had been able to avoid arrest.

## Trial of 4 on Sedition, Subversion Charges Opens

*LD1311150889 Prague CTK in English 1446 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Bratislava Nov 13 (CTK)—A trial of four Czechoslovak citizens—Miroslav Kusy, Hana Solcova-Ponicka, Anton Selecky and Vladimir Manak—accused of sedition began here today. Miroslav Klusy is also charged with subversion of the Republic. The accused were heard during today's proceedings; the trial continues tomorrow.

## Nuclear Engineering Students To Use Reactor

*AU0711231089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 89 p 2*

["pp"-signed report: "For a Better Training of Nuclear Engineers; Reactor in Prague"]

[Excerpts] Prague (Our correspondent)—The practice reactor at the Faculty of Nuclear and Physical Engineering of the Czech Technological University in the Mathematical-Physical Training Center in Prague-Liben is undergoing the final tests before it will be put into actual operation. It should be operational before the end of this year. The VR-1 Vrabec [Sparrow] reactor is the first school reactor in Czechoslovakia. Its output will be 100 Watt, and it will be possible to increase it up to 1kW in a short time.

The reactor will serve, in the first place, to training experts for our nuclear power engineering. [passage omitted]

The reactor's safety is exceptionally high. In view of its low output it consumes the minimum of fuel. In 1 year it burns only 0.1 gram of the uranium 235, whereas the VVER 1000 reactor, which is being built in Temelin, consumes 3 kg daily. [passage omitted]

The control system on which the students of the faculty will learn to operate the reactor reacts to correct commands only, and thus an accident due to human error is precluded. [passage omitted]

## Training Reactor Construction Begins

*AU1311134189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Nov 89 p 2*

[Text] Bratislava (CTK)—The training and research reactor, the construction of which began not so long ago in the Bratislava students' campus in Mlynska Dolina, will contribute to the development of Czechoslovak nuclear power engineering, nuclear medicine, chemistry, biology, and other sectors of the national economy. In contrast to many similar study-research facilities abroad, it will also be adapted for the treatment of brain tumors. Staff members of the SSR [Slovak Socialist Republic] Government Office, the Czechoslovak Nuclear Energy Commission, the health office of the SSR capital, Bratislava, and experts—the future users of the reactor—on Tuesday evening [8 November] discussed with Bratislava nature conservationists the technical and economic details of its construction, the site selection, as well as broader aspects of the development of Czechoslovak nuclear power engineering. In the discussion, for example, the nature conservationists made suggestions regarding a site and the importance of the reactors use. From answers it was learned that abroad similar nuclear reactors are no longer built exclusively for training and scientific purposes, but, for example in Canada, these highly safe reactors of the so-called basin type are being used for heat supply purposes. Currently, such 10-MW equipment is being built in the Saskatchewan University center (the Bratislava reactor's output will be 100-fold smaller). Hundreds of reactors similar to the one in Bratislava are in operation throughout the world, and until now not a single accident involving them has been reported.

## Leaders' Appearances for 2-8 Nov

*AU1311090889*

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 3 to 9 November report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Pavel Hrivnak, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zajic, and Miroslav Zavadil attended a reception at the Soviet embassy on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in Prague on 2 November. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak received Xu Xin, PRC deputy chief of staff, in Prague on 2 November. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov 89 p 1)

Pavel Hrivnak and Ignac Janak attended a reception given by the Soviet consul on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in Bratislava on 3 November. (PRAVDA 4 Nov 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Ivan Knotek, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zajic, and Miroslav Zavadil attended a rally marking the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in Prague on 6 November. (RUDE PRAVO 7 Nov 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak and Pavel Hrivnak attended a wreath-laying ceremony on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in Bratislava on 6 November. (PRAVDA 7 Nov 89 p 1)

Pavel Hrivnak and Ignac Janak attended the opening of a new children's hospital in Bratislava on 7 November. (PRAVDA 8 Nov 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, received the new ambassadors of SFRY, Thailand, and the United Arab Emirates, in Prague on 8 November. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Nov 89 p 2)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium, presented awards to pre-war party members, in Prague on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Nov 89 p 2)

Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received the new Turkish envoy and the new CSSR envoys to the FRG and Peru prior to their departure, in Prague on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Nov 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia, attended the opening of a house of political education in Trnava on 7 November. (PRAVDA 8 Nov 89 p 1) He attended an addressed an all-Slovak aktiv of the National Front, in Bratislava on 8 November. (PRAVDA 9 Nov 89 pp 1,2) He addressed a meeting of the Slovak Union of Journalists, in Modra-Harmonia near Bratislava on 8 November. (PRAVDA 9 Nov 89 p 1)

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received a delegation from the Cypriot AKEL party, in Prague on 8 November. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Nov 89 p 2) He received the newly appointed CSSR envoys to Libya and Peru prior to their departure, in Prague on 8 November. (RUDE PRAVO 9 Nov 89 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech Socialist Republic premier, received Zhu Xun, the PRC geology minister, in Prague on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Nov 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, addressed a meeting of Soviet troops marking the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in Milovice on 3 November. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Nov 89 p 2) He attended a session of the municipal district party committee in Prague 3 on 31 October. (VECERNI PRAHA 1 Nov 89 p 2) He presented an award to a Prague People's Militia official on 1 November. (VECERNI PRAHA 1 Nov 89 p 3) He gave an interview to the U.S. ABC network, in Prague on 2 November. (VECERNI PRAHA 3 Nov 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, presented an award to a trade union official on her birthday, in Prague on 3 November. (PRACE 4 Nov 89 p 2) He attended an aktiv of miners in Most on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Nov 89 p 2)

## SED Central Committee Holds Session

*LD1311195189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1945 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee met on Monday evening in Berlin for its 11th session. The committee is dealing with the proposal from the Politburo to convert the party conference decided for the middle of December into an extraordinary party congress.

## Party Congress Proposed

*LD1311212689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2108 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At today's 11th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee session, Egon Krenz proposed convening an extraordinary party congress for 15-17 December to be held in Berlin. The proposal stresses that such a decision would fulfill the many demands within the party.

The Central Committee met immediately after the meeting of the People's Chamber, at which Politburo member Hans Modrow was elected chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

## Krenz Addresses CC

*LD1311214789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2127 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—At today's 11th session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, SED General Secretary Egon Krenz submitted the proposal for a decision on convening an extraordinary party congress 15-17 December in Berlin. The proposal stresses that such a decision would fulfill the many demands of the party.

Egon Krenz emphasized to the plenum that the Politburo decision to convene the 11th Central Committee session immediately had been motivated by the resolve to preserve party unity. The convening of an extraordinary party congress is urgently required and the Central Committee must now decide upon this.

The general secretary justified this with reference to the many resolutions, statements and letters which he had received from grass-roots organizations, and from district and area executives. These contained approval of the program of action.

In Krenz's words, a party conference would not be considered as sufficient, and instead of this an extraordinary party congress is required. A thorough renewal of the party is the precondition for implementing a program of renewal of socialism. [passage omitted]

## Party Congress Approved

*LD1311224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2220 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 11th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee session decided this evening to convene an extraordinary SED Party Congress in Berlin 15-17 December 1989.

## Text of Decision

*LD1311235989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2255 GMT [illegible] Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The decision made by today's 11th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee session has the following text:

The 11th SED Central Committee session convenes an extraordinary SED Party Congress in Berlin for 15-17 December 1989.

With this decision the 11th SED Central Committee session is responding to a growing number of motions and statements set out by comrades from the basic organizations, from district and area organizations of the SED, to convene an extraordinary party congress and to elect a Central Committee and a Central Auditing Commission.

Agenda:

1. On the current situation and the tasks of the party speaker: general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Egon Krenz

2. report of the SED Central Auditing Commission

3. discussion

4. election of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission of the SED

5. decision-making, including the task of working out a new program and a new Party Statute.

The following principles were established for the preparation of the extraordinary party congress:

For every 750 SED members and candidate members, one delegate is elected, by secret ballot, with a valid vote for decision-making to the extraordinary party congress.

The elections of the delegates to the extraordinary party congress will take place at district delegates' conferences until 3 December 1989. The district organizations will establish the delegates' ratio for the district delegates' conferences.

Party organizations with a strength of 750 or more members and candidate members have the option of electing their delegates in accordance with the delegates' ratio of the Central Committee, directly to the extraordinary party congress.

The delegates to the district delegates' conferences will be elected by members' meetings or delegates' conference of the basic organizations or of the party organizations until 26 November 1989.

The members' meetings and delegates' conferences will receive reports from their organizations on their activity on the basis of the 10th SED Central Committee session and will elect the delegates.

More potential candidates may be proposed for election as delegates at all levels than there are delegates to be elected in accordance with the delegates' ratio.

Motions for the extraordinary party congress should be directed to the Central Committee by 8 December 1989.

### Krenz Comments on 'Complicated Situation'

*LD1311234189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2247 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In his comments, Egon Krenz drew attention to the fact that the 10th Central Committee meeting 3 days ago had ended with the approval of the program for action and a decision on convening the fourth party conference. He explained in this connection: "We must say quite clearly that we have recently been falling behind the dynamic, swift developments in our party, and have not fulfilled the demands and expectations of broad sections of the party base." [passage omitted]

The members had demanded an extraordinary party congress, the election of a new Central Committee which could take full responsibility and which commands total confidence. What is important now is the unity of the party behind renewal.

Egon Krenz stressed that the Central Committee must press forward in the complicated situation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany "in order to do justice to the will of our comrades who expect this of us. We should give a signal and listen to the comrades in the grass-roots organizations, who perform very important work. To sum up, I would like to say quite unequivocally on behalf of the Politburo: The swiftly developing and intensifying extraordinary situation requires an early meeting of the highest party organ—the extraordinary party congress. Let us decide for the unity of the party! Let us do justice to our party name." [passage omitted]

### 11th Session of People's Chamber held

#### Debt Revelations

*LD1311205889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2021 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Today's 11th session of the People's Chamber took a surprising turn this evening. The unusually controversial debate which had already lasted for several hours reached its climax as individual government members spoke, bringing to light grey areas in the state policy so far. The people saw this live on television.

The mountain of state debt, totalling 130 billion Marks of domestic commitments, aroused incredulous astonishment among the majority of the 478 deputies of the GDR Parliament present—they had never been told of this. Even the Parliamentary Committee for Budget and Finances felt that it had been duped for years. [passage omitted]

#### Krenz Interviewed

*LD1311120889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1110 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Interview with Socialist Unity Party of Germany General Secretary Egon Krenz by unidentified reporter outside GDR People's Chamber session in East Berlin—live]

[Text] [Krenz] The election that we are holding here is meeting all the requirements of the working methods of the People's Chamber which I mentioned in my statement at the last session, that is, that the parliament is really shaping its work in the spirit of the renewal of socialism and is becoming a real parliament of the people, and that the deputies are acting accordingly.

[Reporter] How do you think the deputies will get back more self-confidence?

[Krenz] I have to say that every deputy has to sort that out for himself. When we say that we have a parliamentary democracy, everyone has to bring in his own contribution on behalf of his electorate. I delivered my statement here at the last session of the People's Chamber as chairman of the State Council, proceeding on the basis that it is decisive that we support the sovereignty of the people and that sovereignty of the people must also be reflected in the supreme people's representation.

[Reporter] You are now the general secretary of our party. How do you personally see yourself as deputy?

[Krenz] I would not like to make any distinction between deputy, general secretary, and head of state. I am committed to my voters; as far as head of state is concerned, I am committed to acting on behalf of our country's people; as far as my function as general secretary is concerned, I am committed to acting as communist; and as far as being deputy is concerned, I am committed to being accountable to my electorate. I will try and reconcile them all, it's not easy.

[Reporter] If I may, I would like to wish you much success in both.

### Stoph Takes Responsibility

*LD1311205689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1749 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Remarks by Willi Stoph at the People's Chamber debate in East Berlin—live]

[Text] Dear deputies: The discussion in the highest people's representative forum has again underlined the total seriousness of the present situation in the GDR. As chairman of the Council of Ministers, I accept political responsibility for everything for which the government is being criticized. I have to admit that the Council of Ministers, and I as its chairman, have not fulfilled completely the obligations set out in the Constitution. Our competence was, as it known, essentially restricted. But there was no lack of effort by the Council of Ministers and its bodies to solve the tasks set in the interests of the people. We omitted to render account to the People's Chamber for our work, to draw its attention in good time to newly arising developmental problems, and to set out proposals for overcoming difficulties.

The planned proportional development of the national economy was considerably restricted by decisions which were not made in the Council of Ministers. Even after the new start of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and the election of the new chairman of the Council of State by the People's Chamber, the Council of Ministers only undertook partial measures but was not able to bring about a decisive turning point in its work. A situation therefore arose which caused the government to resign en masse. With this step we intend to clear the way for the new chairman of the Council of Ministers, newly elected today by the house, and the government to be formed by him, to make the decisions which must be made for the consolidation of the situation and for the renewal of socialism in the GDR.

I will commit all my strength in the future toward this renewal. Members of the Council of Ministers are prepared to answer individual questions which have been put here or will be put here. On a point of information I would like to say that we have decided that in accordance with the Constitution all members and bodies of the Council of Ministers will continue fully their work until the formation of a new government. [applause]

### Modrow Elected Chairman

*LD1311191189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1904 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hans Modrow (61) was today elected new chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers by the People's Chamber.

He succeeds Willi Stoph.

The Council of Ministers headed by Willi Stoph resigned on 7 November.

### Chamber To Reconvene

*LD1311193189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1912 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Hans Modrow (61) was elected on Monday by the People's chamber as the new GDR Council of ministers chairman. He is the successor to Willi Stoph. [passage omitted]

The 12th session of the GDR People's Chamber is convened for the 17-18 November this year in Berlin. On the agenda are the government statement of the newly elected Council of Ministers Chairman and the election of the ministers proposed by him.

### Roundup of Parliament Session

*LD1411102189 East Berlin ADN in English 0900 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the GDR Government gave an account of their activities at the end of an almost 10-hour, very controversial debate at an emergency session of the GDR Volkskammer (Parliament) here on Monday.

In his address to the 478 deputies outgoing Premier Willi Stoph took political responsibility for the situation in the GDR. He drew attention to the fact that the authorities of the government had been strongly confined by former State Council Chairman and SED party leader Erich Honecker and economic supremo Guenter Mittag.

Both had earlier been dismissed from the leading body of their party and senior state posts and were not present in Parliament. Deputies demanded that they answer the charges in public.

Stoph added he had to confess that the Council of Ministers and he as its chairman did not live up to their constitutional deputies. This had resulted in a situation which made the government tender its resignation to give way for consolidation and renewal.

Ousted parliamentary President Horst Sindermann, charged with delaying a meeting of the supreme people's representation in a crucial situation for the country, said a situation had occurred "which came as a surprise to all of us" and to which nobody knew an anwers at that time.

He apologized but turned down charges of abuse of authority. He added he had not always administered his office well but to the best of his conscience.

Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Commission, pointed out that experts had always informed the mentioned officials in time who responded by slandering him. The deputies learned with bewilderment that internal debt amounted to 130 billion marks, a fact withheld from them to date.

State Security Minister Erich Mielke whose address repeatedly caused a stir among the deputies said his ministry had known everything what was going on in the country and passed on this information but talked to deaf ears.

Guenther Maleuda, who was elected parliamentary president at the beginning of the meeting, suggested setting up a temporary investigating commission which was to look into criminal aspects of abuse of power and to lift the immunity of deputies if necessary.

Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Farmer's Party (DPD), was elected in a cliff-hanger vote and received 246 of the 477 votes cast. 230 of the deputies voted for Professor Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDPD).

In the ensuing discussion, numerous representatives of the 10 parliamentary groups demanded to speedily pass new electoral and media laws and a law on freedom of assembly and opinion. Some of them spoke out for the immediate suspension of article one of the Constitution stipulating the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED).

The meeting ended with the election of Hans Modrow as chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. Modrow, who was fielded by the SED parliamentary group, was the only contender for prime minister. One vote was cast against him. He was charged with forming a new government.

The next parliament meeting will be held on November 17-18. On the agenda are the policy statement of the new premier and the swearing in of his government.

## More Protests Break Out in Several Cities

### 200,000 in Leipzig

*LD1311190689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1838 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—An estimated 200,000 citizens demonstrated on the steets of Leipzig this evening for free elections and for lasting, legally documented freedom of travel. The kilometer-long parade of demonstrators formed at Karl-Marx-Platz on the beltway around the city center.

Speakers from the New Forum using megaphones appealed before the march began for the prevention of a sell-out of the GDR through moonlighting and speculators in the West. At the same time they warned against opportunists and demogogues in their own country.

In chants and on banners, citizens of Leipzig and of other districts [kreise] and areas [bezirks] demanded further effective changes and reforms in the economy, politics, and the state. "Open borders alone cannot be the only freedom!", "Only the SED—no way!", "The wall may have a hole in it but it must go completely!", "The SED's claim to leadership will melt away if free elections are held some day" and "Free elections, genuine figures"—these were the main statements of the slogans carried.

The peaceful demonstrations and the earlier peace prayers in seven Leipzig churches were transmitted by several international television networks.

### 10,000 in Schwerin

*LD1311192489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1859 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—According to eyewitness estimates, over 10,000 citizens this evening demonstrated for a referendum on Article 1 of the Constitution. They had once again complied with an appeal from the New Forum to attend a rally in the Alter Garten, to demonstrate for free elections and calling to account the leadership to date. In a collection of signatures, thousands underlined their determination to delete the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, set out in Article 1, from the Constitution, through a referendum. Only the people can be the supreme sovereign power.

On banners they called also for an immediate reform of the education system, active environmental protection, and clarification of the foreign currency question for foreign travel.

### Further Demonstrations

*LD1311213689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2039 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—An estimated 200,000 people gathered in the streets of Leipzig this evening demonstrating for free elections and legally documented freedom of travel. [passage omitted]

Tens of thousands of Dresden citizens called into question the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] on banners and placards, and in chants and slogans, during a demonstration this evening in the city center. Their demands included free elections and an amendment to Paragraph 1 of the GDR Constitution.

In Cottbus, more than 10,000 people accepted an invitation to a rally from the SED and the New Forum. The announcement of the completely new election of the Secretariat of the Cottbus SED Area Executive met with great approval. A warm reception was also accorded to speakers advocating environmental protection, a reduction in bureaucracy, and the effective use of work forces.

Several thousand citizens of Halle gathered in the market square this evening under the motto "Democracy and Renewal." Also taking part in the procession was Roland Claus, the new first secretary of the SED Area Executive.

This evening, after a peace prayer in the Neubrandenburg Johannis Church, several thousand citizens demonstrated. The "march against forgetting," organized by New Forum, proceeded through the city center to the SED party college. With thousands of burning candles, which the demonstrators placed in front of the entrance to the building, they underlined their demands that the college be converted into a public building.

### In Magdeburg, Karl-Marx-Stadt

*LD1311232789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2144 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—Tens of thousands of Magdeburgh citizens have gathered in the cathedral square for public dialogue. They were invited by the city council and citizens initiatives groups. Prof Horst Koeditz, director of the children's clinic in Magdeburg, said that every intelligent ideas and constructive opinion was needed in the process of redevelopment. Referring to the new travel regulations, he said that this one success is a germ cell for the expectation of further successes. [passage omitted]

Over 55,000 Karl-Marx-Stadt citizens have formed a kilometer-long procession to the city center. Slogans and chants demanded free elections and a referendum on Paragraph 1 of the GDR Constitution. Further banners declared: "We are staying here for a better future." At a later meeting representatives of the New Forum demanded punishment of those who were responsible for mismanagement. Rolf Dunger, recently elected second secretary of the SED Area Executive, assured the demonstrators that he would report next Monday on how the citizens demands are being implemented. [passage omitted]

### Krenz Addresses Berlin Rally 10 Nov

*LD1011213489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1837 GMT 10 Nov 89*

[Speech by Egon Krenz, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, at a rally in East Berlin—live]

[Text] Dear comrades, [applause] My name is Egon Krenz [laughter from audience], a party candidate back in June 1953, a rather uncomfortable period, when I was aged 16—it was still possible at that time—and a member of the party since 1955. Comrades, I have always tried to act as a communist. As stated here by a slogan about our party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is socialism, honesty, and democracy. That slogan is right up there [applause]. And since thousands, tens of thousands, or even millions of Communists have been working self-confidently here on the spot, we were able to create in previous years something of lasting value for all of our country's history. [applause] But, dear comrades, first of all I would like to address a word of thanks to you. You, the workers, engineers, scientists, employees; you, the citizens of Berlin, you have done everything to ensure that our everyday life continues and that we are strengthening socialism in our country—for that you deserve thanks, thanks, and thanks again. [applause]

We intend, dear comrades, to tackle a great task: a revolution on German soil which will bring us socialism which is economically effective, politically democratic, morally clean, and which addresses the individual in everything. [applause]

And since this is so, dear comrades, the Council of Ministers has adopted new travel rules for all citizens of our country who are of age, to express our seriousness about the policy of renewal and the fact that we hold out our hand to all who want to walk with us. [applause]

Just now, dear comrades, a few hours ago, the 10th session of the Central Committee of our party came to a close. It has adopted an action program, and when I look at the slogans displayed here, which you have brought along: clear heads and diligent hands are needed for the turnround [wende]. The country needs many hands. We are facing up to things—not moaning but hard work [words indistinct] honest dealings. And let me say, comrades, that is precisely the sense of our action program. A program for our party to regain trust among the people. [applause]

Indeed, straight ahead—don't be pushed around. What is in this program? We want a better socialism. We want a socialism which is being shaped by the sovereign people of our country. We advocate free elections and that our people elect the best to parliament. [applause]

We are in favor of radical reforms. And if I were asked to say where the strength lies then I would say that it is our party and you, dear comrades; it is the great popular movement of our country which is to advance us in this way. [applause] And let me add: you are aware that I was in Moscow a few days ago to see Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The close ranks wih the Soviet Union, the identity of thought and action with our Soviet friends, is what makes us strong and gives new meaning to our slogan—"to learn from the Soviet Union means to learn to win"—especially these days. [applause] If this slogan has had a concrete historical place then we must say today that we learn from our Soviet friends those things they have done well, but we also learn from those things in which they did not succeed. But learning from one another makes us strong and it is this strength which we need especially now. [applause]

Dear comrades, no one could be more critical than we are with ourselves. But, dear comrades, there are also some who do not seek to change us, they want to do away with us. And we are prepared to change, but we shall never abandon our responsibility. [prolonged applause]

We are experiencing one of the most difficult times in the history of our GDR, as well as in the history of our party. But, dear comrades, dear friends, we are a party, as it also says in one of the slogans here, in which the honest communists know only one privilege, and that is the privilege of work. Other privileges are alien to honest communists. [applause]

For this reason the Central Committee also decided at its session today to give the chairman of the Party Central Control Commission the task of investigating on the basis of our statute all misdemeanors which happened on this basis and to put forward relevant proposals on punishing them. [cheers and applause]

Comrades, we know that there is a debate: Should we hold a party congress or should we hold a party conference? There is a very important slogan here, which has already been pointed out—"our strength lies in unity"—and what do we all want? We want to move forward together. Yes, and we all want that the policy of the renewal of socialism can no longer be made retrograde, and together we want to elect those cadres for this who are in a position to take this path. [applause]

If, then we are united on this goal, comrades, let us bury the dispute on conference or party congress, let us do what works quickest and best, and that is our party conference. [cheers, applause, boos, whistles, and catcalls]

Dear friends and comrades, we have often been told people would stay here.... Dear comrades, let me touch on a problem which concerns us this evening in particular. It was often said people would stay here if they were able to leave and return. Now we are practising and want to learn it properly. It is part of a great lesson we shall never forget, but I also say with the greatest openness, let those politicians who always raised this to first place in their speeches understand us correctly. These are measures in the people's interests and no one should abuse them against the people. [applause]

At this sensitive frontier in Europe we should behave on both sides like peaceful neighbors toward one another. As far as the GDR is concerned, and as far as our party is concerned, then we are prepared for this. [applause] Dear comrades, it is the duty of our party, it is the duty of our government, to ensure that at this sensitive frontier where capitalism and socialism meet, that at this sensitive frontier stability prevails. For without stability there is no peace, and peace is the decisive factor because without peace everything else is nothing. [applause].

The heart of our party is the basic organizations, its groups. They are the pillars of renewal in our ranks. During these days they are making decisions and are backing whoever they want to lead them further in the struggle, who they trust and with whom they want to unite.

I know, comrades, that now is not the time for promises. We are receiving many proposals. Ninety out of 100 of them cost money, and perhaps 10 out of 100 bring in money. Who will blame us if we would like to reverse the ratio? And that is only possible through good, solid work, and therefore I would like to support especially those comrades who have spoken here into this microphone about the organization of labor, about the effectiveness of labor, because in the final analysis it decides what we can allow ourselves. [applause]

Dear comrades, everything that we can do we will do, but our leadership will not make empty promises or present checks which are not covered. [applause] Quite rightly, you have also raised the question as to whether the Central Committee will be in the position to make further progress with the renewal of socialism. I am quite clear that the words that I am saying now quite possibly are not very popular but if tomorrow, the next day, or on Monday you follow the discussion of our plenum in our central organ, then you will see that we had a very critical Central Committee session. And then let everyone judge whether we will succeed with the party conference to bring about such a turnround that will make our party stronger again so that we can go on ahead to where we have to go. [applause]

Berliners, dear friends or, I could also say as has been said at another rally, mature citizens of Berlin: We are all, we are all standing together, and therefore I would like to go into one sentence in particular. One comrade said: You and us. Let us do everything, comrades, so that there is no longer a "you and us," but only "our" party. [prolonged applause]

## Modrow Not Considering Pulling Down Wall

*LD1411120189 East Berlin ADN in English*
*0923 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—The GDR does not consider pulling down the Berlin Wall at present, Premier-designate Hans Modrow has told the FRG tabloid BILD ZEITUNG.

"That would cause chaos," if the FRG government did not come to an understanding with the GDR on it beforehand, Modrow said and added the opening of the Brandenburg Gate would soon be discussed.

There was another more important question for the GDR. "The country has a very low crime rate, only a few cases of AIDS and almost no drug problems. And therefore GDR people ask why shouldn't we leave the situation as it is." Things were entirely different on the other side of the wall and if an open border brought all these evils to this country "then I, as prime minister, would have no chance for my policy," Modrow said.

He added that his party, the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] could win a majority in free elections. "But it is too early to discuss than now. And it would be equally wrong to give up now because we do not believe in it."

## 93 Percent Want Electoral System Changed

*LD1411104289 East Berlin ADN in English*
*0807 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ninety-three percent of the GDR people want the country's electoral system to be essentially changed, according to an opinion poll published by the Berlin-based Institute of Sociology and Social Policies on Monday [13 November].

According to the same poll, 48 percent said they were hopeful about the social turn which began to influence policies four weeks ago, while 47 percent said they were both hopeful and sceptical.

Asked whether the results of the recent Central Committee meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) came up to the needs of renewal, 24 percent answered "yes", 60 percent said "partially", and 8 percent "no".

Fifty-one percent of the polled had relatives or friends who left the GDR. Eighty-seven percent said they would definitely remain in the country. Thirty percent believed that socialism was historical progress over capitalism despite all crises.

Asked which social achievements should be safeguarded at any rate, the right to work, education and health came in the first places. Wishes for changes in the social policies primarily concerned payment according to work and improvements in the health system.

### More Than 5 Million Visas Issued

*LD1411104389 East Berlin ADN in English 0856 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Between Thursday and Monday noon, the GDR issued 5,188,510 visas for private journeys abroad, an Interior Ministry spokesman said here on Monday.

In the same period, 10,754 permits for permanent emigration from the country were issued, the spokesman said.

The wave of GDR citizens visiting the FRG and West Berlin also continued on Monday, after the weekend's travel frenzy which flooded West Berlin alone with some two million GDR citizens.

FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, visiting a border crossing in Berlin, said he was satisfied with the current development of cross-border travel. On Tuesday, a total of 22 crossing points will be open for travel from and to West Berlin, which is completely surrounded by GDR territory.

Gates were flung open last Thursday for private travel to the West without preconditions, ending a 28-year break since August 13, 1961, when the GDR erected a wall to fortify its border to West Berlin.

The borders were opened after the escape to the FRG of 140,000 GDR citizens in only three months and growing popular annoyance over interior affairs. Emigration figures have gone down markedly since the opening of the border. During the weekend, 26,700 GDR emigrees registered in the FRG, some 3,000 of them during the past 24 hours.

Currently discussion is underway on a new travel law whose first draft was published in the press here Monday last week and was widely rejected by the population.

### Travel Payments Available to Citizens

*LD1411113789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] The GDR State Bank has announced that the currently allowed travel money of DM 15 can be obtained in every branch and exchange office of the State Bank. The amount can also be exchanged in certain branches of the savings banks. They have special signs on display. There are several in each district. Money can be exchanged at one branch in each city borough of Berlin. Payment will continue pending final regulation by a travel law on presentation of a passport or of indentity papers with a visa stamp.

### Travel Regulations Valid for People's Police

*LD1311140189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1331 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new regulations for private trips are also valid for the members and civilian staff of the German People's Police as well as the other bodies of the GDR Interior Ministry. Only a very limited group of persons, known to the department, is excluded. The embargoes on private trips by former members of staff in force up to now and the restrictions on family members are cancelled. This has been anounced by the GDR Interior Ministry in response to questions.

### Another Border Point Opened in Berlin

*LD1411093689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0912 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Potsdam (ADN)—With the meeting between Manfred Graulich, Mayor of Teltow (Potsdam area), and Klaus Dieter Friedrich, mayor of the West Berlin city borough of Steglitz, at 0750 on Tuesday, a further frontier crossing-point from the GDR to West Berlin was opened at the Phillipp Meuller Allee. [passage omitted]

### Interior Minister on New Travel Regulations

*AU1411131089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 1*

[Statement by GDR Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel on GDR Television on 10 November: "Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel on the New Travel Regulations"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [10 November] GDR Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel stated on GDR Television:

Dear citizens:

In this hour I trustingly turn to you with a question, which moves us all and affects us all. As you have been informed by the media of our country, on Thursday the acting GDR Council of Ministers decided on new regulations for private travel and permanent emigration of GDR citizens to foreign countries, which have been put into effect immediately. Thus the government acted in accordance with numerous petitions, proposals, and critical remarks from citizens, organizations, and institutions, which have been submitted during the current public debate on the draft law on foreign travel.

The new regulations envisage that as of now all People's Police kreis offices in the GDR will accept and quickly decide on applications for private travel to foreign countries, in particular to the FRG and West Berlin. The efforts are aimed at having a decision made on the same day if possible. The same applies to permanent emigration. The visa for private travel will be stamped into the passport or, if the citizens do not yet have a passport and want to make the trip immediately, into the identity card.

In this connection, I would like to say that this regulation is not a measure that will be limited in time. It will be a lasting one and will be one of the bases of the new travel law. The citizens of our country can fully rely on this and need not make and precipitate decisions. The processing of and quick decision on applications for travel are carried out in the offices of the pass and registration sector, which are open for the citizens every day, also this weekend.

I ask for your understanding that it is in the interest of a speedy and orderly processing of applications for trips and emigration if they are made at the time when the citizen really wants to travel or to emigrate. Spur-of-the-moment applications, except for urgent cases, of course, entails difficulties for you and impedes the smooth procedure.

In this connection, I also may inform you that we are holding negotiations with the Senat of Berlin (West) in order to open soon new, additional border checkpoints in the GDR capital city to Berlin (West). The following checkpoints are being considered, among others: road checkpoints Eberswalder Strasse, Potsdamer Platz, Glienicker Bruecke, and Falkenseer Chaussee. At the same time, the opening of new subway stations is considered, for instance at the subway station Jannowitzbruecke. In order to link with West Berlin's urban transportation network, the rail lines are to be established: from Suburban Train Station Wannsee to Potsdam-Bassinplatz; from Subway Station Rudow to Suburban Train Station Berlin-Schoenefeld; from Subway Station Tegel to Hennigsdorf; from Subway Station Spandau Town Hall to Nauen; and busline 65 via Sonnenalle checkpoint to the suburban Train Station of Baumschulenweg.

Dear citizens:

The GDR Government is keeping its promise. It is seriously trying and firmly determined to establish conditions for travel of our citizens, which correspond to their interests and wishes. The new travel regulations serve this end. It should be our common concern to implement and use them in such a way that the applications of the citizens can be processed quickly and unbureaucratically and that, at the same time, security at our borders is preserved. This also includes farther-reaching steps to simplify the border regime at the national border with the FRG, which we are currently preparing on the basis of the action program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and by taking into consideration many proposals and suggestions by citizens. They envisage, among others, to drastically reduce the width of the border areas and to take cities, towns, villages, enterprises, and institutions out of the current border area as far as possible. This will also make things much easier for the citizens who live there and will help to reduce the burden on the national economy. These changes will come into effect by December. I may say that as of now the offices of the German People's Police are ordered to be unbureaucratic, quick, and generous concerning entrance into the border area and the stay there. We also intend to agree with the FRG Government on the opening of additional border checkpoints at the national border with the FRG.

Dear citizens, our government trusts that through prudent and responsible behavior you will contribute to making border-crossing tourist traffic on the basis of the new regulations smooth, to coming to grips with the current rush, and to having normal conditions at the border checkpoints.

## Dresden Court To Release 4 Oct Demonstrators

*LD1211183489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1732 GMT 12 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—No one involved in the events at the Dresden railway station on 4 October 1989 or in later demonstrations will be kept in custody or prison within the sphere of competence of the Dresden Bezirk court as of Monday. This was announced by the Bezirk court director Siegfried Stranovsky at a news conference in Dresden on Sunday. Likewise, the sentences pronounced against Andre L., Holm V., and Kai-Uwe St. would be appealed. The Bezirk court senate has meanwhile decided to release them from custody. [passage omitted]

## DPA Reports SED Officials 'Comitted Suicide'

*LD1111105389 Hamburg DPA in German*
*1010 GMT 11 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Another Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] functionary committed suicide. The Perleberg SED Kreis [district], Scherin Bezirk [area], Executive stated that First Secretary Gerhard Uhl "took his own life on 7 November because of great psychological pressure caused by the current political events."

The Information Office West reported today that Herbert Heber, the Koethen Kreis first secretary, Halle

Bezirk; and Helmuth Mieth, the Bautzen Kreis first secretary, Dresden Bezirk; had also committed suicide.

### Red Cross President Resigns Position

*LD1411115389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1106 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The president of the German Red Cross of the GDR (DRK), Professor Gerhard Rehwald, announced his resignation on Tuesday. He stepped down at an extraordinary session of the DRK Presidium in Berlin. The Presidium accepted his resignation.

### Erfurt Elects New First Secretary

*LD1111172189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 11 Nov 89*

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Professor Herbert Kroker was today unanimously elected first secretary of the Erfurt Area executive of the Socialist Unity Party of German [SED]. Earlier, the area executive had acceded to a motion by Gerhard Mueller to release him from this function. Gerhard Mueller no longer had the confidence of the party grass roots and did not gain the required number of votes at the 10th Central Committee session for his re-election as a candidate member of the Politburo.

The new election was announced at a rally in the Thueringian town, at which thousands of Erfurt SED members showed the Secretariat of their area executive the "red Card" with their SED membership books. They demanded accountability for past abuses and announced that they would put their thoughts and deeds into supporting the turnaround.

There was enthusiastic approval for the election of the director of the Weimar works and former director general of the Transformer Technology Combine as first secretary. He spoke in favor of eliminating the decline of confidence in the SED by actions as well as exercising tolerance and respect toward those who think differently.

### Neubrandenburg Executive Reacts to Election

*LD0911185689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1738 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—The Neubrandenburg Area (Bezirk) Executive of the SED reacted at its session today to the election of Johannes Chemnitzer as a candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, ADN was told. As a result of the debate the Area Executive applied to the 10th session of the Central Committee with one abstention for this cadre decision to be debated again and revised.

At the same time the application to the 10th session for the prompt calling of a party conference or an extraordinary party congress was passed unanimously.

### Thiel Elected Cottbus First Secretary

*LD1311152389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Cottbus (ADN)—At an extraordinary session today the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Bezirk Executive of Cottbus elected Wolfgang Thiel as its new first secretary with one vote against and two abstentions. Previously all the members of the Bezirk Executive Secretariat had resigned from their positions. Werner Walde, the former first secretary of the Bezirk Executive, was released from his duties on 9 November. [passage omitted]

### DPA Report on FDJ Resignation Rejected

*AU1311144989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Nov 89 p 7*

[ADN report: "False DPA Report Rejected"]

[Text] East Berlin—The members of the Central Council of the Free Democratic Youth [FDJ] and its secretariat have no intention of resigning, as reported by FRG news agency DPA on Wednesday [8 November]. ADN received this information from the FDJ Central Council.

### Greifswald Bishop Gienke Resigns From Office

*LD1411113189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1105 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Rostock (ADN)—The bishop of the Evangelical Land Church of Greifswald, Dr Horst Gienke, announced his resignation to the church leadership at its session on Monday because of the situation which had arisen in the Land synod. At their session on 5 November, the members of the Synod decided by a narrow majority not to express confidence in the bishop for his continuance in office.

The church leadership accepted Dr Gienke's resignation and resolved to retire the 59-year-old in accordance with the electoral law of the Greifswald bishopric. [passage omitted]

### W. Berlin Socialist Unity Party Leaders Resign

*LD1411082489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0623 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—The Bureau and Secretariat of the Party Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW) announced their collective resignations at an extraordinary session of the Party Executive on Monday evening [13 November].

According to the West Berlin newspaper DIE WAHRHEIT today, the session was convened by the Bureau at short notice, "in order to discuss the situation and draw the conclusions from the new situation which has arisen through the developments in the GDR and their effects on West Berlin, and in view of the latest developments in the party".

After a lively debate, the acting SEW Chairman Dietmar Ahrens had given the reason for the decision of the Bureau and Secretariat as being that without this measure unjustified tensions would arise in the party. The Party Executive, which will be continuing its session 18 November, had instructed the members of the former Bureau and Secretariat to continue current work until then.

## 'Serious Border Provocation' at Klein Glienicke

*AU1411082589 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 9 Nov 89 p 2*

[ADN/DM report: "Serious Border Provocation"]

[Text] Potsdam—In the night of 3 to 4 November 1989, a serious border provocation occurred at the state border with Berlin (West) in the village of Klein Glienicke. Several hooligans threw stones and hurled steel balls at apartment houses in Klein Glienicke, damaging the windows of several families' apartments. In the attack, the mother of a 5-month-old baby suffered shock.

## Bishop Criticizes FRG's 'Double Strategy'

*AU1411083289 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 10 Nov 89 p 7*

[ADN report: "Bishop Leich Criticizes Double Strategy of FRG Government"]

[Text] Cologne—The chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, Bishop Werner Leich, hopes for clear words from FRG Chancellor Kohl "to our citizens in the GDR," appealing to them to stay in their country.

In an interview with the Cologne paper EXPRESS, Werner Leich stated yesterday [9 November]: "The FRG Government's double strategy in expressing understanding for the people is not very helpful at the moment."

The fact that thousands are still leaving the GDR fills him with deep sorrow. "For me the decisive question at present is: How will things develop? What we need are clear signs from the leadership. Appeals alone are not enough."

A great deal of pain in being caused in the GDR by the current exodus. This affects primarily older people who are abandoned and left alone. There are enormous problems in the sphere of medical care and the economy. Much depends on the resolutions of the new Politburo and personnel decisions. "The citizens in our country must know what course they will pursue in the future," he added.

## Honecker Still Receiving Medical Treatment

*LD1411091689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0815 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During the parliamentary debate on Monday, the youth newspaper JUNGE WELT asked Frau Margot Honecker, former education minister, about the health of the former GDR party and state leader Erich Honecker.

"My husband is ill, that is he has not yet fully recovered from the relatively serious operation," Frau Honecker said.

Asked whether he was at home: "Of course. He is not in hospital, but at home—but he is receiving medical treatment."

## Maleuda Stresses Developing People's Chamber

*LD1311230889 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2110 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Interview granted by People's Chamber President Guenter Maleuda to correspondent Hans Mueller on 13 November in the People's Chamber building, Berlin—recorded]

[Text] [Mueller] Many congratulations first of all, Mr President, Dr Guenter Maleuda, on your election as president of our supreme people's representation. Forty-eight hours ago, after the meeting of the blocks, you said what you wanted to do. Now you can realize your projects. I would like to ask you, with which expectations are you commencing your work?

[Maleuda] First, many thanks for the good wishes. I would stress, above all, four [as heard] thoughts. First, that we must work very intensively on developing the People's Chamber as the chamber of the people by means of a broader incorporation of the citizens of our country. We must do it quickly, so as to guarantee that the will of people [word indistinct] in the plenary sessions, in the discussions, the committees and parliamentary groups. A second important task is to quickly form a strong government which makes our country governable, and I am very optimistic and convinced that Mr Modrow is receiving today the confidence of the People's Chamber. I believe that important preconditions for the fulfilling of this task are thereby given. Third, I would stress the absolute necessity that we must succeed in approaching, by wide-ranging work, the plan of legislation and the implementation of urgently needed laws. There are very concrete objectives from the parties, the mass organizations, the citizens' movements, to work out a new electoral law, a media law, the broad range of the legislation. Foundations must be created for a democracy which is borne and shaped by the people. I believe that all deputies of this house will see a great obligation to work in the next weeks close to the citizens in the constituencies, so that we regain the confidence we deputies have lost. I see this as one of the most important tasks facing us.

[Mueller] Dr Guenter Maleuda, have there been initial talks at the meeting of the block, if I may put it like that, so that you can count on the support of all parliamentary groups with these projects?

[Maleuda] No, we didn't discuss things that much, especially as the result of the election was completely open, after the last meeting of the block [words indistinct] and the Christian Democratic Union and the Cultural League. But that's enough about the democratic block.

[Mueller] Were you pleased that there were several candidates up for election, as you experienced today, and that the result...?

[Maleuda, interrupting] I believe that it was a correct step in the right direction. We have created here the first preconditions for creating a relationship of trust in the People's Chamber, and between the People's Chamber and our citizens.

[Mueller] There will be lots of work. Are you looking forward to it with the deputies, with your fellow workers?

[Maleuda] There will be lots of work. I thank the deputies who voted for me for their confidence. It is a great responsibility I have been granted. I will also request that those deputies who did not vote for me [words indistinct].

### Pre-military Training To Be Eliminated

*LD1311145989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1333 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There will be no more pre-military training and no more paramedical training in civilian defense for GDR apprentices in the 1989/90 educational and training year. The state secretary for vocational training, Bodo Weidemann, stated this today in a conversation with ADN. The days scheduled for this in the curricula are to be used for practical vocational training. Participation in this training was voluntary and extracurricular, the state secretary said.

### Defense Minister Notes Army's Economic Role

*LD0911223189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2131 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo, reported to the 10th session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee on the great efforts of the National People's Army to support the national economy in the present situation. Thus, in the 1988/89 training year an average 9,200 members of the Army and 322 vehicles a month were deployed. This deployment is all year round and put into effect in a decentralized manner in 72 combines and enterprises of nine ministries.

Kessler said that this year as many as another 1,500 soldiers are supporting agriculture and forestry. According to the State Planning Commission's calculations, an increase in the production of industrial goods to the tune of around M1.2 billion could thereby be achieved in the 1988/89 training year. At the moment, 95 engine drivers and 30 shunters are already suporting the railwaymen. In the next few days an extra 680 specialists will follow. after 1 December, 2,000 conscripts will support the health service. From January to April 1990, 21,000 reservists will be excused from reserve service.

Heinz Kessler gave a briefing on work on new regulations for the frontiers and the rules for civilian service, as well as swift changes in everyday life on duty for members of the Army and border guards.

### Spokesman Expects No Call-ups From Reserves

*LD1011142289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 10 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—From January-April 1990, no reservists will be called up for service in the National People's Army and the border troops of the GDR. At the same time, the conscription review stipulated for the period 6 November-8 December 1989 will be dropped for the 1990 reservist military service. These measures should help in mastering the present difficult situation in the economy, the Defense Ministry spokesman told ADN.

The Defense Ministry had already announced that from 1 December, 2,000 conscripts would be temporarily deployed in the health sector. They are to provide support for over 100 health service installations in 54 districts in the country. In Leipzig and Dresden areas alone, 400 soldiers respectively are to be deployed following an agreement with the Health Ministry. This deployment affected mainly conscripts from professional groups needed in the health service who were called up in early November or will be this month.

The spokesman said that with immediate effect and without charge the Army and border troops will have at their disposal forces and resources for retail transport, passenger travel, the food industry, and health service.

### LDPD Group Criticizes Draft Travel Law

*LD0911174189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1641 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Discussion of the existing draft of the travel law, as well as the essential features for a new electoral law, were the focal points today in Berlin of a session of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] People's chamber group attended by the party Chairman Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach.

According to a statement by the LDPD press office to ADN, in the debate there was criticism that the draft travel law was too beaurocratic, contained rudiments of the past, and as before, treated citizens like children. A five-paragraph draft as the basis for the party group's proposal for a travel law met with approval.

It was the opinion of all deputies that this law has to be passed quickly and guarantee each GDR citizen the right to leave the GDR temporarily or permanently, and then to return to the GDR. Several LDPD members called with urgent words on the citizens of the country to stay here, to use the change as a new beginning, and to energetically give support.

It was the unanimous opinion that in the drafting of a new electoral law it had to be a question of establishing free, public, democatic elections, secret ballots, and only allowing political parties to have mandates.

### Schabowski Supports New Travel Laws

*LD1311002589 Hamburg DPA in German*
*2251 GMT 12 Nov 89*

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The travel regulations are a "good thing" in the view of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Guenter Schabowski. In the ARD television program "In Focus," the GDR politician said this evening, "we clearly understood people's needs and we also clearly understood that there were certain risks implicit in such regulations." This was, however, a conscious step on the part of the GDR leadership. Schabowski explained that he himself had really never felt that things could get out of control as a result of the free travel opportunities.

East Berlin had not had a "clueless or amorphous" approach to travel regulations. This could be seen from the fact that additional border crossings had been opened so swiftly. The decision had documented the determination "to make correct and necessary decisions in a complicated situation"—and also to win back the people's trust that had been lost."

The policy of renewal in the GDR had "steps in the present, which must be taken immediately, steps which could be taken tomorrow, and also steps which can only now be taken toward the more distant future." These were all "learning processes, and it cannot be said of us that we are not flexible in our ability to learn. We are taking it very seriously." This "thrust for democracy" had become apparent also in the work of the SED party group and in that of other party groups.

During the television prorgram, Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker once again urged "patience and level-headedness," to organize feelings and thoughts. Ability to survive must first of all be guaranteed in the GDR: "The ability to survive will not wait until a reform law for free elections is approved." The Federal Republic must be prepared to offer all available means of assistance. "We should approach this question with a pan-German sense of responsibility. We must have open hearts and open doors."

The two German states and the whole of Europe are at a stage that offers the possibility for far-reaching, positive developments, which project "far beyond the daily horizon of experiences in our life in the Federal Republic."

### Schabowski on Former Politburo 'Disputes'

*LD1111103389 Hamburg DPA in German*
*1836 GMT 11 Nov 89*

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—According to Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Guenter Schabowski, there were disputes in the former Politburo about the future course in the GDR. At the same time, Schabowski rejected the accusations of being "trimmers" as too simplistic. "These were just latent developments, which had been emerging for a long time and which did not take place in a climate of passive conformism. There were disputes", he said in an interview in the Cologne EXPRESS (12 November edition).

Regarding the course of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and its effects, the SED area chairman of East Berlin said: "It would have been good if we could have responded to it earlier." He explained that this had not been possible because of "a limited overview and limited insight. This made things more difficult." Schabowski voiced his conviction that the investigations of the Party Control Commission would involve "discussion of practices that made this possible and did not enable us to see through all these things."

### Schabowski, Beil Discuss Changes

*LD1011123189 East Berlin Television Service*
*in German 1853 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[News conference by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo, in charge of information and media policy, and Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, on 9 November at the International Press Center in East Berlin; no video available—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [unidentified Soviet radio correspondent] Comrade Schabowski, I would like to know whether, during the debate, the experience of the CPSU's perestroyka policy was mentioned in any way. How was it done, and what is your personal view in this respect?

[Schabowski] The perestroyka policy plays an important role. One might say, it is the underlying theoretical background of the entire debate. To put it negatively, it was stated today, for example, that one reason for the numerous problems facing the party and for its flawed policy was the mistake of having ignored the great significance of the restructuring process introduced in the Soviet Union in 1985. The international significance of this process, which by no means only affects the problems in the Soviet Union that gave rise to it, is determined by the necessary modernization of the concept of socialism in our time. I pointed out yesterday, already, that both in the report [by Egon Krenz] and the action program, everything derives from a redefined relation between socialism and democracy, and fresh evidence of this was brought up in today's discussions.

[Unidentified correspondent] According to information available so far, Comrade Modrow sumitted to the plenum today proposals for step-by-step economic reforms in the GDR. What are these proposals?

[Beil] In the second part of his contribution, Comrade Modrow already hinted at the outlines of something like a policy statement. The economy, it will be understood, was at the core of this statement. Where will it lead, however? First of all, Comrade Modrow outlined the importance of simplifying the entire system of central state control and planning, that is, to remove excessive centralization. Second, the producers' scope for maneuvering—and he was referring to combines and enterprises as well as to cooperatives and all other production facilities—will have to be expanded. What he had in mind and extensively pointed out is the implementation of the socialist achievement principle. Let me say as minister of foreign trade that part of that economic reform must also be to more efficiently introduce the GDR economy into the world economy. The GDR economy's current share in world foreign trade runs at 1.1 percent. That is too little in view of our economy's size and performance. We will not ask the questions of export yes or no, and more or fewer exports, but how we can help create the preconditions for the necessary economic reform through sharing in the international division of labor.

[Unidentified correspondent] Why has the plenum convened a party conference, rather than an extraordinary or advanced party congress?

[Schabowski] The Central Committee has decided in favor of convening a party conference because, in line with party statutes, the convocation of an extraordinary party congress requires a particular deadline of 2 months. We believe that it is necessary to no longer postpone a party conference with the representation of the party's entire membership in order to discuss and decide the aforementioned issues. That was the decisive reason for convening a party conference.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Schabowski, what will happen to the Berlin Wall now?

[Schabowski] What of the Berlin Wall? Comments have already been made on this issue in context with travel. The question of travel and the permeability of the Wall from our side do not provide any answer, let alone an exclusive one, on the issue of the purpose of this, let me say, fortified GDR state frontier. We have always taken the view that several other aspects have to be considered in this context. They relate to the complex of questions mentioned in the report by Comrade Krenz regarding the relationship between the FRG and the GDR, regarding the need for continuing the peace-saving process with new initiatives. The debate on this issue can certainly be positively influenced if the FRG and NATO, too, adopt and implement disarmament decisions like or similar to what the GDR and other socialist countries have already done in terms of advance concessions. Thank you very much.

## Wilczynski Editorial Criticizes Politburo

*AU1411000189 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 9 Nov 89 p 1*

[Editorial by Klaus Wilczynski: "A Lesson for the Party"]

[Text] The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which was in office until yesterday, has resigned—not voluntarily, and much too late. In its entirety it bears the main responsibility for the current, extremely complicated situation of our country. It cannot evade this responsibility by having some of its members resign or by voting them out. Honesty and a sense of responsibility toward the SED members and the entire population would have required its collective resignation as early as at the last plenary session of the Central Committee. This would have been a communist attitude.

Had there been such a clear recognition of their own responsibility, the party and this country would have been spared a few things. Instead, the comrades had to make increasingly vigorous demands, the party's basic organizations had to adopt a great number of resolutions, and the irritation of peoples from all over the country had to be aroused until democracy had finally prevailed within the party and the necessary conclusions were drawn.

This rigid attitude was only possible because the party's most important principle was disregarded and perverted, namely, democracy within the party. Yesterday [8 November], Egon Krenz noted in his speech that in order to avoid repeating such a situation, a new Politburo has to take the following into account in all its decisions: It is an elected body that is answerable to the entire party at any time and that must implement what the entire party decides. If the new Politburo acts accordingly it will be fully supported by all comrades.

## New Forum Reacts to Official Recognition

*AU1311144689 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 9 Nov 89 p 2*

[Statement by New Forum on 8 November decision by Interior Ministry to confirm the recognition of the group: "Statement"]

[Text] We have received confirmation by the Interior Ministry of our application to be recognized as an association.

Thus, the ministry corrects its assessment that there is no social need for the New Forum.

Finally, the view of tens of thousands of GDR citizens has been respected who expressed support for the New Forum through their signature. Thus, the existing parties, mass organizations, and the National Front are no credible platforms for dialogue.

Now that our application has been confirmed, we are preparing our founding. We will draft statutes characterizing New Forum as a movement that translates the findings of the candid dialogue as a programmatic demand, as a proposal or concept into political activities. All groupings that work within New Forum in the GDR are involved in these preparations for the founding.

The confirmation of the application of the New Forum entails the call for the legalization of other opposition groups or parties. Only a pluralistic society opens up the possibility of a far-reaching and lasting restructuring of the GDR. The opposite of such pluralism would not be unity but simplicity.

New Forum strives to cooperate with all opposition parties and groups that advocate the basic democratic rights in our country in a credible manner.

An important form of cooperation are election alliances. We believe that only free elections offering a choice between the most varied programs and persons, can lead to the establishment of a true people's representative body at all levels. The monopoly on truth, power, and leadership by a single political force has turned out to be harmful.

An important instrument of New Forum is an independent national newspaper. This enables us to make public the results of dialogue and to publish programmatic demands in the whole GDR, to control power, and to correct our own course on the basis of proposals and critical remarks. Applying for a corresponding license is one of our activities in preparing the founding of our association.

These activities will ultimately lead to the calling of a national delegates' assembly, the confirmation of the statutes, the formulation of the next tasks, and the election of spokesman of the New Forum, thus establishing it as a strong, independent political force in the GDR.

8 November 1989

For the New Forum initiative,

Baerbel Bohley,

Sebastian Pflugbeil,

Eberhard Seidel

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## Bohley Discusses New Forum's Ambitions

*AU1411072789 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 9 Nov 89 p 4*

[Interview with painter Baerbel Bohley, co-founder of the New Forum, by Olaf Opitz in Berlin: "You Are Like This and We Used To Be Like That;" date not given]

[Excerpt] DER MORGEN: In retrospect, how dangerous was it to think differently?

Baerbel Bohley: There was nothing more dangerous in this country than to think differently. This was already the case before I started expressing my views. People were punished for thinking independently. People were driven away in this way for 40 years. This had something to do with the arrogance of power, because the leadership not only set the goal for us, but also determined the way to reach the goal. Those who had different ideas about how to reach the same goal were criminalized.

DER MORGEN: Many have left our country and are still leaving it. You chose to stay....

Baerbel Bohley: I am kind of stubborn. As a matter of fact, the country belongs to us and not to those who govern us. I never saw why I should go. Maybe others should go first. One cannot simply leave a country just because one does not like the government. My home is very important to me. People who leave very often do not realize what they are actually doing. Not many are born to be vagabonds.

DER MORGEN: Has the fear of contact with opposition groups decreased among officials?

Baerbel Bohley: No, not really. The process that is currently taking place has been forced upon the leaders. Hundreds of thousands had to take to the streets to challenge the government to establish a dialogue. There has been no insight on the part of the leadership; dialogue only came about because of the pressure by the people.

DER MORGEN: Is this the maturity of the people?

Baerbel Bohley: It is a sign for me that the people's fear is decreasing, that their self-confidence is growing, and I hope that this will lead to maturity. It is not possible to completely restructure within 6 weeks a society that has been shaped over 40 years. We do not need a claim to leadership that is stipulated in the Constitution. This would become irrelevant if free elections were called. The Constitution must be changed at some point. The most important thing now is that people who hold different ideas from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on our country's development are able to organize themselves. We need access to the electronic media. We need a newspaper. We need free access to the public.

DER MORGEN: What else does our country need? Real reformers?

Baerbel Bohley: This country does not only consist of reformers, despite the fact that reformers are presenting themselves everywhere now who claim to have always been reformers. This applies both to the ruling circles and the population. It is very difficult for people to admit that they have been opportunists and that they want to move something now. For this reason, we should try not to become impatient now. The new beginning would collapse quickly without patience. There have been discussions and calls among the New Forum that it should become a political party. However, I think this country needs a broad movement. Nearly all changes in Eastern Europe have come about in this way. Contrary to parties, in a movement people affected by certain problems and experts can form associations.

DER MORGEN: Are you suggesting an alternative concept?

Baerbel Bohley: The world urgently needs alternative concepts because we are faced with enormous problems. Only those who are really interested in finding solutions to problems will work for it. These people must be given the opportunity to organize themselves, to influence social processes, and to pursue a policy of their own by nominating their own candidates. I do not think that parties are able to do that. Their struggle for the leading role, for power, and the preservation of power absorbs too much strength. This is why we need an opposition that is legal.

DER MORGEN: Are you trying to appeal to people's reason?

Baerbel Bohley: In my view, all people possess a certain degree of reason. People are both reasonable and unreasonable. We are always victims and perpetrators. However, the question is how one can awaken what lies dormant and use it properly. People do not long for suppression, but for personal freedom and freedom of their environment. State security must be liberated as well. For this reason, I consider the New Forum so important in order to solve the problems of the future in solidarity. [passage omitted]

## New Forum Claims 200,000 Members

*LD1311183589 Hamburg DPA in German 1656 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR opposition group New Forum now claims to have a total of 200,000 members. Reinhard Schult, spokesman for the civil rights movement, affirmed in an interview with the central organ of the East German CDU [Christian Democratic Union], NEUE ZEIT today, that the Forum does not wish to become a party. Parties have an exluding effect, even the Polish Solidarity had never been a party.

The SED's [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leading role has already "been resolved of its own accord" through the recent events. Egon Krenz "irritates the people by holding to this hypothesis, unintentionally stoking up the situation," Schult said. This should not, however, be turned into aggressiveness, since the SED still "has violence and weapons in reserve."

In order to be able to submit an alternative program, the New Forum needs genuine statistics on the social conditions. Until now, these have been kept "under wraps." What is necessary in the future is a division of party and state. Before economic changes, the political demand must be implemented.

## Soviet Magazine SPUTNIK Available Again

*AU1311131689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Nov 89 p 7*

[ADN report: "SPUTNIK To Be Distributed Again as of December"]

[Text] Leipzig—The December edition of the Soviet magazine SPUTNIK will again be available in the GDR. This was announced to ADN by Book Export Director General Norbert Mahn.

"I have to thank our Soviet partners for supplying at such short notice," Mahn pointed out. Unfortunately, the publishers are not able to provide the desired volume of 400,000 German-language copies. However, it will be possible to import 300,000 German-language copies instead of the previously supplied 180,000 copies, and 7,800 copies in other languages.

"In addition to that, the German postal service has decided to order a special edition, offered by the Soviet side, which contains articles from the copies that were not available in the GDR. The publishers promised to deliver 300,000 copies before the end of this year," the director general stated.

Norbert Mahn stressed that both the special edition and the monthly editions must be sold at a higher price in order to reduce the expenditure of subsidies.

## Anti-Semitic Graffiti Mars Erfurt Church

*AU1311083789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Nov 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Indignation About Anti-Semitic Graffiti"]

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—In Erfurt fascist and anti-Semitic graffiti on the Hochheim church have caused indignation. Still unknown perpetrators smeared swastikas and fascist slogans on the church wall. On Monday morning [6 November] Father Karl Metzner, who is known for his steadfast antifascist attitude and who was persecuted for it during fascism, reported this incident to the People's Police. It started investigations immediately, which have meanwhile been joined by other investigation organs. With indignation and shouts of "shame!" the Erfurt City Assembly reacted to the graffiti on Monday evening and called for the matter to be cleared up quickly. In particular, just before the anniversary of the night of the fascist pogrom of 1938, which is commemorated with memorial services for many Jewish victims of the city in Erfurt, this deed caused profound shock among all strata of the population.

After intensive investigations by the criminal police department and the state security service, a 14-year-old apprentice was found on Tuesday, who is strongly suspected of having written the fascist and anti-Semitic graffiti in Erfurt-Hochheim. He admitted to having smeared the malicious slogans on the wall of the Evangelical church in Erfurt-Hochheim on Sunday afternoon.

The investigations into the motives of this action have not yet been concluded. This deed on the eve of the night of the fascist pogrom has aroused profound shock and great indignation among the population.

### Jewish Group Says State Promises Unfulfilled

*LD0911172289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The executive of the Adass Jisroel Berlin Jewish Community [name of organization as received] has publicly expressed its disappointment at the fact that promises made by GDR state offices 1 year ago have not been fulfilled.

In a press statement on the anniversary of the anti-Semitic pogrom night of 9 November 1938, it is recalled that on the 50th anniversary of the Nazi pogroms the GDR head of state festively told the executive and Israeli Chief Rabbi Yitzhaq Kolitz about the complete reinstatement to Adass Jisroel Berlin of all the rights withdrawn by the Nazis in 1939 and the return of its community property. This statement has not been adhered to. "Thus the expectations of the surviving members and their descendants and the trust that they have placed in the GDR's seeing itself as an anti-fascist state have been deeply disappointed," the statement says, which was given to ADN today.

Letters from numerous personalities and institutions from the Jewish and non-Jewish world which have been sent to the GDR government about this matter have not been answered.

As emerges from the statement, it is a question of "the juridical sovereignty, the administration of the community, the supervision of rituals, and the daily and unlimited use of our synagogues, our ritual baths, and our meeting and teaching rooms."

The executive invited politicians and other personalities to a meeting in order to jointly try to restore lost trust and to end the shameful situation.

### Peasant's Party, New Forum Officials Meet

*LD1011144189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 10 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Georg Boehm, member of the Presidium of the DBD [Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany], today spoke in Berlin with Prof Jens Reich, one of the founders of New Forum.

Prof Reich gave a briefing on the political views and current aims of this movement. During the meeting, which lasted for over an hour, Dr Boehm familiarized his interlocutor with the DBD's position on the renewal of socialist society in the GDR and handed him a document passed on this by the Presidium of the party's Central Executive Council. The DBD supported making the variety of opinions and interests in the GDR work for society.

### New Forum Plans To Hold Nationwide Congress

*LD0911182689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1710 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following the confirmation of the registration of New Forum as an association by the GDR Interior Ministry, a nationwide constituent congress will take place shortly. This was announced today at an international news conference in Berlin by the group's founding members. In response to journalists' questions, Baerbel Bohley, Eherhard and Jutta Seidel, and Michael Goebel stressed that New Forum regards itself as a movement, not as a political party.

Asked for her opinion of the changes so far in the GDR, Baerbel Bohley emphasized that for her the most important change is that "GDR citizens have become involved in politics in a confident way." The West would do well to stop eyeing GDR territory, she added.

At the start of the news conference, the "statement of the New Forum on the confirmation of registration" was read out. In it the association describes itself as a "movement" that wants to translate "knowledge from honest dialogue into political action as a programmatic demand, proposal, or concept." It was also said that within the framework of the planned actions for the founding of the association, New Forum wants to apply for a permit for its own newspaper.

The text of the statement was published today in NEUE ZEIT, the central organ of the Christian Democratic Union.

### State Security's Mittig Discusses Reform

*AU0911175889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 89 p 3*

[Unattributed interview with Colonel General Rudi Mittig, deputy minister for State Security: "State Security—Basic Condition for Renewal and Securing What Has Been Achieved"—date and place not given]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What is the attitude of the Ministry for State Security concerning the current development in our country and the renewal of socialism?

Mittig: The members of the Ministry for State Security unreservedly support the restructuring to which people aspire and the necessary reforms. As a part of the people, we are obliged to our joint cause, namely to do everything for the prosperous development and the protection of our socialist state. We do not only express this in words; we will prove it through our practical efforts to ensure state security. We fully support the declaration that was made by Comrade Egon Krenz on behalf of the Central Committee of Socialist Unity Party of Germany, following its ninth meeting, and to the People's Chamber, as well as the subsequent dialogue between all forces of our society.

The necessity of the initiated political change is in accord with our ministry's assessment of the current situation. We support it, and it also affects our work. Even though the work of our ministry has always been determined by the desire to fulfill all the tasks with which we were entrusted by the party and state leadership, according to the specific conditions of the development in the GDR and the international situation, we are also called upon to thoroughly examine whether our work continues to be consistent with present and future conditions.

As part of the critical analysis of the social developments by the party and the government, the Ministry for State Security is now also facing the task of analyzing mistakes that have been made and existing deficiencies, and of drawing the necessary conclusions in accordance with the social framework conditions. The current broad social dialogue provides valuable stimuli that complement our own considerations.

In accordance with the fundamental responsibility entrusted to our ministry, we consider it our primary task to consistently protect the process of renewal which was initiated by the ninth Central Committee meeting, on the basis of the Constitution and the legislation of the GDR.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What do you think about the accusations against the Ministry for State Security that have been voiced by the public?

Mittig: I would like to emphasize once more that we protect the constitutional foundations of our state and the peaceful coexistence and unimpaired work, rights, and dignity of the citizens. The Ministry for State Security does not stand beyond the state or outside the law.

I am able to declare with full responsibility that the Ministry for State Security carries out its work on the basis of socialist legality, and that our staff members are taught to strictly observe it.

Moreover, being a security body which must also deal with the tasks of investigating criminal acts and other infringements on the law, we are subject —like all investigating bodies—to the control of the general state prosecutor of the GDR.

To be able to uncover things in good time, to combat or thwart the secret plans of our opponents and the mostly cleverly disguised subversive attacks on the state security of the GDR, the Ministry for State Security has been conceded a certain authority to use conspiratorial means and methods. The use of this to strengthen and secure the worker-peasant power is in full agreement with the Constitution and the laws of the GDR. We have always endeavored to utilize this authority with responsibility.

We regret that in early October several members of the Ministry for State Security exceeded their authority and overreacted in Berlin, Dresden, and other parts of the republic. Once the investigations of the state prosecutor are concluded, we will take the necessary disciplinary measures or steps under criminal law against those members of the Ministry for State Security that exceeded their authority.

Permit me—and this is also part of the dialogue and of objectivity—to point to the fact that the critical situation was massively fomented by our opponents and that the atmosphere in our country has been tense where, together with the other protective and security organs, we had to guarantee the security of our guests and the visitors at the events, particularly the public festivals, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary.

One must not forget that more than a hundred security people were injured through acts of violence, and that considerable material damage has been done. Prior to the 40th anniversary, there was an increasing number of bomb threats and threats of violence against officials and institutions of the state and protective and security organs. We had information on planned acts of severe provocation against the state border in the area of the capital, and on the intended infiltration of troublemakers from West Berlin. We also had information according to which a large number of participants in a demonstration would try to force a path through our border in the area of the Brandenburg Gate. Western media even reported: 100,000 storm through the Brandenburg Gate. Moreover, it has been revealed that authorities in West Berlin, including the Western occupation forces, were alerted. These are only a few facts, and it was our duty not to ignore them.

Where individual persons turn against the constitutional foundation of our state one has to apply means that reliably guarantee legal security and public order, and security to protect the interests of the citizens. This is in line with the generally valid principles of the rule of law. Therefore, I categorically discard the generalized accusations against the Ministry for State Security.

On behalf of all members of our ministry, I equally resolutely reject the acts of discrimination, the defamations, and even the threats of violence against departments and members of our ministry, which have increased during the past few days. This has nothing to do with open dialogue and is not conducive to an atmosphere in which problems can be discussed and solved in a businesslike way.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What do you think of public control of the Ministry for State Security.

Mittig: We are not afraid of such public control. Much of our activity has always taken place in close contact with the citizens. This is necessary in the future as well. We are a body of the GDR Council of Ministers and, like every other ministry, we are accountable to the People's Chamber. It will certainly be necessary to seek new forms in which we can do justice to this accountability.

Moreover, we are also called upon to make the Ministry for State Security and its work more open. Thus, we consider it necessary and correct to continuously, immediately, and sincerely inform the public more than in the past, and on the basis of the work that we have done, about peace, socialism, and the plans, intentions, and activities that are directed against our country.

Naturally, there will and always has been a sphere of the work of a ministry like ours that cannot and must not be made public. If we were to make public everything that we know, for example, about imperialist intelligence services, their agencies, and their actions, we would hardly be able to successfully fulfill our task. This is the same in the whole world.

The "state of total surveillance" the "omnipresent system of agents" only exist in the imagination of Western media. The Ministry for State Security does not "surveil" its people but cooperates with the citizens in the interest of all those who care for socialism and the peaceful life of the people in our country.

We know—we have been taught by experience—that the conditions for the solution of our tasks, namely to guarantee state security in the GDR, are the more favorable the better our economy works, the better off the people are, and the more stable the political situation and the atmosphere of constructive coexistence in our country are. Since we are aware of this specific interrelation, we consistently support the policy of change and the course for the renewal of our society.

State security is a basic condition for any renewal and also for safeguarding the achievements that we must not disregard. Peaceful work, social safety, and normal coexistence are impossible without state security. Thus, to guarantee state security is not only the task of the Ministry for State Security, but the task of the entire socialist state, the social organizations, and of all citizens.

State security is indeed a matter that concerns all people, and thus, all people ought to act consciously and responsibly. The members of the Ministry for State Security will always be faithful allies for all those that support the renewal of our home country in a socialist context.

## Readers' Letters Comment on 10th CC Session

*AU0911153889*

[Editorial report] East Berlin Neues Deutschland in German on 7 November on page 3, under the headline "Opinions and Proposals Before the 10th Central Committee Session," carries readers' letters, totaling some 4,000 words, which discuss the requirements posed on the party at the current time. The letters generally call for adopting a clear position, for raising party work to a new quality, relying on the strength of the party members, and making an active contribution to the current changes. One letter calls for limiting the time in office of certain party functionaries. A few letters also note the positive achievements of the past 40 years.

## Scientists Call for Party Congress

*LD0911121489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1008 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Fifteen renowned GDR scientists have called for the convening of an extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] congress in a statement which the BERLINER ZEITUNG publishes on an entire page of its Thursday edition.

The SED Central Committee plenum, meeting in Berlin, should set the direction to be followed until this party congress, "at which far-reaching conceptual ideas should be discussed and the necessary cadre decisions made."

The scientists "expect the members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee to assimilate the thoughts and impulses of the democratic popular movement in our country." The Central Committee meeting should introduce first steps "to attain a fundamentally new and higher development of socialism on German soil."

The leading influence of the party's policies "is seen by us as necessary for socialism in the GDR, but it cannot be derived from formulae which are firmly established," it says further. The SED should therefore "put itself forward in the future for democratic elections in competition with other political forces in society." The Central Committee session should "support an electoral law which safeguards a truly free, universal, democratic, and secret election and which guarantees public control in every stage of the election."

The scientists demand from the participants at the Central Committee session "that they exercise influence on the working out of a necessary economic reform on the basis of a sober, honest, and open analysis of the economic situation." The GDR needs a completely new economic mechanism. For this it is necessary to harmonize the merits of socialist planning with the stimulating effects of the market.

"Domestic possibilities, experiences, and main areas must be exactly determined for the incorporation of the GDR economy in the international division of labor, in particular within the CEMA and the EC market." The GDR Government should investigate far-reaching possibilities for close cooperation, integration, and long-term working together between GDR combines and FRG concerns as well as between publicly owned enterprises and medium-sized enterprises, and should set these out before competent representatives of the FRG for negotiation.

It says on foreign policy tasks: "The socialist German state should introduce its own constructive ideas into the construction of a common European house and should resist concepts which intend to break up socialism in Europe." The GDR should work without limitation for the implementation of the Helsinki Final Acts at home and abroad.

"A development is conceivable in the relationship between both German states, if there is a sense of reality and reason on both sides and mutual respect for the right to exist and sovereignty, with the result that relations such as those between other German-speaking states in Europe can be established this century."

It is "conceivable that in the foreseeable future the 'Wall' will be a relict of the past, if damage to the GDR economy to the disadvantage of our country's citizens is prevented by suitable measures, which are also shared by the FRG Government and regulated with it by treaty."

The statement was signed by:

Heinz Albrecht (secretary for economic policy of the SED Berlin Bezirk [area] Organization)

Prof Dr Dieter Klein (Humboldt University)

Prof Dr Hans Knop (University for Economy)

Prof Dr Klaus Kolloch (Humboldt University)

Prof Dr Alfred Kosing (Academy of Social Sciences)

Prof Dr Rolf Reissig (Academy of Social Sciences)

Wolfram Krause (SED Berlin Bezirk Organization)

Prof Dr Max Schmidt (Institute for International Politics and Economics)

Prof Dr Klaus Steinitz (Academy of Sciences)

Prof Dr Rosemarie Will (Humboldt University)

Prof Dr Gerhard Witich (University for Economy)

Prof Dr Dieter Segert (Humboldt University)

Dr Michael Brie (Humboldt University)

Dr Rainer Land (Humboldt University)

Prof Dr Klaus Viertel (Academy of Sciences)

## Writer Appeals to Countrymen To Remain

*LD0811195189 Hamburg DPA in German 1821 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—GDR writer Christa Wolf made a dramatic appeal on GDR television to those people wishing to emigrate. The statement was signed by New Forum member Baerbel Bohley and writers Christoph Hein and Stefan Heym, and was read by Wolf on the "Aktuelle Kamera" program.

The text of Christa Wolf's statement addressed to the people wishing to emigrate, is as follows:

"Dear fellow citizens,

We are all deeply concerned. We see the thousands of people who are leaving our country daily. We know that an inappropriate policy that has been in effect up to the past few days has reinforced their mistrust in the renewal of the community. We are aware of the powerlessness of words before mass movements, but we have no other means than our words. Those who are now leaving are making us lose hope. We say to you: Stay in your homeland; stay with us!

What can we promise you? Not an easy life, but a useful and interesting one. No quick affluence, but cooperation in great changes. We intend to take responsibility for democratization, free elections, legal security, and liberalization. It cannot be overlooked; decades-old encrustations have been broken up in weeks. We are standing at the forefront of a fundamental change in our country.

Help us shape a truly democratic society which also preserves the vision of democratic socialism. It is no dream if you, with us, prevent it being nipped in the bud again. We need you. Trust yourselves and us, who wish to remain here."

Christa Wolf

The address was also signed by the following: For the New Forum, Baerbel Bohley; Democratic Departure, Erhard Neubert; SDP, Uta Forstbauer; Democracy Now, Hans-Juergen Fischbeck; Initiative Peace and Human Rights; Gerhard Poppe; as well as Volker Braun, Kurt Masur, Ruth Berghaus, Christoph Hein, and Stefan Heym.

## Modrow Comments on Exodus of Citizens

*OW0911140889 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1200 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Interview with Hans Modrow, Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman-elect of the GDR Council of Ministers, by NHK East Berlin correspondent Yoshiro Nishikawa; Modrow speaks in German with Japanese translation provided in subtitles—following is from the Japanese; from the "NHK News Today" program—recorded; date and place not given]

[Text] [Video shows Modrow seated in a room facing Nishikawa] [Modrow] I would dare to say that the East German socialist system has broken down. Politicians are called on to hold broad dialogues and exchange views with the people. Through dialogue we hope to regain public trust. I am confident that if the new regime and the hitherto unrecognized New Forum hold dialogues, a better solution will be found. It should be possible to rebuild the system from the very roots.

For the sake of increasing productivity, the introduction of revolutionary political reform is an urgent task. To this end, new labor unions and socialism that allows freedoms are necessary. This is none other than the demand of the people and the greatest question facing East Germany.

More people might seek to flee East Germany. Of course, there are people who are considering doing so now. If reform is carried into practice immediately, I think the exodus can be prevented. We must listen to the opinions of the demonstrators and translate them into practice. The exit of young manpower will lead to a decline in productivity. It will have a bad influence on the commercial and service sectors as well. If they are materially satisfied, the people will never leave East Germany. The government is now asked to come up with a policy that will keep them in East Germany.

### Interior Minister Defends People's Police

*LD0911231789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1940 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today, at the 10th session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, Friedrich Dickel expressed his opinion on the fact that in the last few days the activities of the staff of the protection and security forces have been exposed to massive criticism.

The interior minister and chief of the German People's Police first of all approved the report by the general secretary and the proposed draft action program. Thus, orientations of principles on the activation of the party and for the conduct of the necessary processes of society's renewal have been given. "In this I see a great challenge to the activities of the German People's Police and to the other bodies of the Interior Ministry, which have many links to our citizens and our social life," he said. Above everything else, it is a question of a high degree of public law and order for the citizens, and, together with them, ensuring that all in the GDR live and pursue their peaceful work in peace and security in conditions of a high degree of certainty under the law.

During events a few weeks ago, during the necessary deployment for order, there were, contrary to all orders and instructions, as he wished to say expressly, "acts which exceeded authority, and, also, violations of the law during the removal and the detention of those provisionally detained by task forces." These were sharply criticized. Everything will be done to carry out a thorough evaluation and to draw conclusions in order to compensate for the damage caused.

These regrettable attacks, for which he expressly apologized to those citizens concerned, should, however, not be the cause of current discrimination against all the People's Police or of the questioning of the dignity and the reputation of the tens of thousands of honest, industrious police officers who are close to the people. It is a fact that through the very work of the GDR People's Police the GDR is a country with a low crime rate, such that scarcely any other country has. The members of the protection services have been urged to exercise the greatest restraint and level-headedness through clear orders and instructions. The citizens, too, who take part in peaceful demonstrations have a right to security and a public life in accordance with the social norms.

### SED Official Says 'Civil War' Was Possible

*AU1011103089 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 10 Nov 89 p 1*

[Report by "BREU": "The GDR Was on Brink of Civil War—SED: Wall Could Become Relic"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—Pressed by massive demands for free elections and an end to the power monopoly of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], 15 high-ranking party officials stated publicly that it is "possible that the Wall will be a relic of the past in the foreseeable future." Before the end of this century, relations between the two German states could develop as has been the case between other German-language countries in Europe, they said. Presidium member Wolk of the Christian Democratic Union in the GDR thinks that the Wall is "unnecessary" and that the reunification of Germany is possible. [passage omitted]

An SED secretary confirmed before thousands of demonstrators in front of the Central Committee building in East Berlin on Wednesday evening [8 November] that the deposed party-state leader Honecker on 9 October had already given orders to crush the mass demonstration in Leipzig by deploying the National People's Army. According to Politburo member Schabowski, Egon Krenz, who was then in charge of state security, "prevented the worst." A leading SED comrade said: "On 9 October, the GDR was on the brink of civil war." [passage omitted]

### NDPD Official Calls for Chamber Session

*AU0911194689 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 6 Nov 89 p 1*

[Interview with Guenter Hartmann, chairman of the People's Chamber group of the National Democratic Party of Germany, by NATIONAL-ZEITUNG; date not given]

[Text] NZ: When will the GDR People's Chamber convene for its next session, its first marked by the policy of change?

Guenter Hartmann: Unfortunately, I cannot answer your question. In its conference on 13 October our party group instructed me to advocate in the People's Chamber Presidium an immediate government statement on the political-economic situation in front of the People's Chamber. I did so. On 24 October, the president announced a People's Chamber session for the second half of November.

It is simply necessary and—according to the government's latest press releases on the critical situation in the country—high time for the members of the supreme people's representation to learn about the real state of the economic balance. At any rate, our group wants to be able to base its ideas and proposals for a new economic strategy and for economic reforms on a thorough analysis of our economy. It wants to know what conclusions for the future course the government will draw and it wants to give its opinion on this in the People's Chamber.

NZ: The government has already taken several measures.

Guenter Hartmann: This is precisely what occupies us deputies. We are of the opinion that measures such as imports for our supplies do not solve the real problems of economic disproportions. And we do not want to permit the Council of Ministers to continue to arbitrarily change the enacted plan without the knowledge of the People's Chamber. The Government has to face the People's Chamber!

NZ: Now a party has publicly called for the election of a new People's Chamber president and stated that it wants to claim the office for itself.

Guenter Hartmann: I learned this and other things that are to be done from the newspapers. As stated last Friday [3 November], our party leadership still expects the Central Democratic Bloc to immediately convene to discuss the political situation. There had better be a choice of several candidates for the election of the People's Chamber president. In this case, we would definitely nominate our own candidate.

NZ: When will our parliamentary group, which convened three times in October, meet for its next session?

Guenter Hartmann: The group and all successor candidates have been invited to come to Berlin on 15 November to discuss the draft law on foreign travel, and especially the draft entitled "With a Renewed National Democratic Party of Germany for the Renewal of Socialism in the GDR."

## LDPD Editorial Views SED Role in Alliance

*AU1311140289 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 8 Nov 89 pp 1,2*

[Editorial by Deputy LDPD Chairman Hans-Dieter Raspe: "On the Role of the SED"]

[Excerpt] A turn of events—what is this? The German dictionary suggests: Turn, gymnastic exercise. Many people interpret it in a different way. Too many people interpret it in too different ways and act accordingly, and sometimes do not even do that. For me, the word does not convey enough "forward movement." However, it is not only a matter of how we interpret the term!

Is it a revolution? The October Revolution and November Revolution in the GDR? Yes, we are indeed witnessing tremendous qualitative changes in our society. No, it is not a question of basic social changes. It is a question of power, of the power of the people, of the entire people and all sections of the population. Theoretically, we have always had the power. It is stipulated in certain laws. However, so far, this was nothing but empty words. We were deprived of the power in our lives. Some of us were even deprived of it to such an extent that they hardly realized this in the jog trot of their self-imposed moderation and complacency, of arrogance and ignorance, in the leaden peace of obstinacy. Some took to the streets and others engaged in subversive activities. "Our people"—whose people are the people? —finally no longer tolerated this lack of power!

The GDR started its renewal on the 40th anniversary of its existence because many of its citizens are dissatisfied. One must understand the language of 4 November! If the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] now claims to have initiated the changes all alone, this new "insufficient" recognition of the facts is counterproductive to the course of renewal which we Liberal Democrats want to support, no matter what burdens this involves. If this is the desire to lead, we are lacking the willingness to obey. The renewal cannot be successful if one does not accept the truth. People have called for the changes and support them.

Respectable people usually admit their faults. Yes, they admit that they have made mistakes. I would like to stress the following: We, too, the LDPD leadership, have remained silent too long and have tolerated things, in our efforts to act as a disciplined and reliable alliance partner. From the 13th LDPD Congress onwards, and even more from the 14th congress on, we were prepared to follow the conscience, the inner voice of the party and to act in a responsible manner, even if this were to cause contradictions, as long as this is necessary. We cautiously made this known to the public, step by step, and were the first party to break the silence.

For a long time—for years—we hoped that the SED would be willing to seriously discuss the escalating problems, and we put forth requests accordingly. However, there was no reaction. The block parties lost their significance because they were no longer accepted as a forum and a form of our democracy. DER MORGEN addressed this issue at the turn of the year. However, there was no response. In addition, there was hardly any reaction to the proposals we submitted prior to the 12th SED Congress. As early as 10 (!) years ago, Manfred Gerlach wrote a book in which he outlined the basic principles of present-day social LDPD policy which is widely recognized. The manuscript was swept away. This was a bitter lesson for the Liberal Democrats. We have learned our lesson!

We must ask ourselves: Where has the leading role of the SED led us? Was its task not to lay tracks for the wheel of history? However, where have we arrived? The existence of the worker-peasant power on German soil is on the verge of an abyss. This is painful.

The wheel of history has caught up with the SED's leading role at a tremendous pace. According to our Constitution, the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party play a leading role in the political organization. However, what will happen if nothing happens? If no one assumes the leadership? In such case, who acts according to the Constitution and who violates the Constitution?

I am in favor of changing Article 1 of the Constitution. This must also be taken into consideration in the LDPD's future statutes. [passage omitted]

### Berlin LDPD Members Meets With New Forum

*AU0911184089 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 7 Nov 89 p 1*

["opz." report: "LDPD Contacts With New Forum"]

[Text] Berlin—Klaus-Peter Weichenhain, chairman of the Berlin Bezirk associaiton of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and New Forum founding member Sebastian Pflugbeil met for an exchange of opinions in the house of the party on Monday [6 November]. The still-pending admission of the New Forum was discussed, among other things. Klaus-Peter Weichenhain advocated a speedy and positive decision. Concurrently it was stated that the bottom of the country's crisis has not yet been overcome. Now unequivocal steps would be urgently required. In this context, the sequence of such steps is also important, it was stated. Priority has to be given above all to opportunities and laws referring to structural change in the GDR, Sebastian Pflugbeil said. In the opinion of both, this includes a thoroughly drafted electoral law, which requires a detailed debate by the people.

### Policy of Renewal, Attitude of Comrades Viewed

*AU0911161889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 89 p 2*

[Hajo Herbell editorial: "Renewal and the Attitude of the Comrades"]

[Text] Our party wants renewal. This was expressed by Egon Krenz again in his speech last Friday [3 November]. With the ninth Central Committee session a new stage in the development of our socialist fatherland started. Millions of people are affected and moved by the political changes that have spread to all spheres of society. The new start by the people is accompanied by talks, discussions, demonstrations, and other expressions of will. Opinions clash with other opinions. And we, the comrades, do not hide our views—not in the controversial debate, either.

At the rally in Alexanderplatz on Saturday, Guenter Schabowski said: "We all want a GDR of which everyone can say that this is our country." He added: "We are willing and we are untiringly learning to live with contradictions, with pepper and salt. We will use the productivity of contradictions." However, he added, "I do not like the quick funeral pyre on which some wish to see everything burn that has been accomplished by the people in indisputable achievements over the past decades." In conclusion, he said: "Let us use our hands today for our country, for socialism which is strengthened by the fact that the people want it."

Thus, the party openly shows its flag. The party is not hiding its face. It also does not speak with a downcast voice. We, the comrades of a party, which has already weathered so many storms, do not let any doubts arise concerning our standpoint.

—We support those who do not forget the most important thing in the heat of the quarrel—working daily in their place for this country and its citizens. Without work—like without order and prudence—there is no renewal. And we, the comrades, do not only support those who think and act in this way; we stand with them in the first line.

—We support many of the slogans, which make up the term renewal: full sovereignty of the people; reform of the political system; participation of responsible citizens in all matters of society and the state; comprehensive and truthful information; variety of opinion, tolerance, and honest struggle for joint solutions; rule of law; better supplies; continuity of production without bureaucratic patronage; economic reform; reform of the education sector; intellectual renewal; more democracy for more and better socialism. We do not support slogans which call for hatred and confrontation, for tearing each other to pieces; we do not support slogans which are directed against the socialist state and against its protective and security forces.

—During these weeks millions are calling out: We are the people! They are right. But we, too, are the people and we do not let ourselves be isolated from this people. Where does our party come from, after all? From the people. For whom have millions of our comrades lived, worked, and struggled? For the cause of the people, for their freedom from capitalist exploitation, for a new life in socialism, for the basic precondition of all development and also of all renewal—for European security and cooperation, for disarmament and peace.

Every comrade pledges loyalty to this time full of struggle of his party—in particular now, when we are on the point of winning back lost trust with a strong party, which is capable of action and imbued with a new democratic self-confidence; when we, as I quoted above, are untiringly learning and are linking ourselves closely with the people. With the party's action program, the 10th Central Committee session, which will start tomorrow, will provide us with the necessary equipment.

## Soviet TV, Radio Interviews LDPD's Gerlach

*AU0911161989 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 7 Nov 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Manfred Gerlach on Necessary Measures"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Monday [7 November] Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], granted an interview to Vyacheslaw Mostowoy, chief correspondent of Soviet television and radio accredited to the GDR.

The party chairman made clear that problems have accumulated in the GDR in almost all social fields, which have given rise to the worries and dissatisfaction of many citizens. The LDPD belongs to those forces, which were the first ones to push open the door for the policy of renewal.

Asked about the need for a new election law, which had been unmistakably stressed by Manfred Gerlach, he noted that the voters must get the possibility to decide in a secret ballot on alternative programmatic ideas. It is also necessary to have several candidates for one seat.

In the future, a new government, which has to work more efficiently because of the reduction of the number of ministries and employees, must be accountable exclusively to the People's Chamber and to the GDR people.

Asked about new citizens' movements, the party chairman advocated the view that they can work on the basis of our country's Constitution and can thus contribute to enriching the dialogue. It will not be permitted that the socialist bases of our state are called into question.

## Wend Commentary on Berlin Mass Rally

*AU0911164189 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 6 Nov 89 p 2*

[Diethard Wend commentary: "After This Saturday in the Heart of Berlin"]

[Text] In GDR history there has never been a mass rally like the Berlin protest demonstration of Saturday [4 November], which was organized by artists and supported by the people. It will certainly have a great and determinant influence on processes of the formation of social opinions, not despite, because so many bitter truths were openly and publicly voiced. Beyond the circle of 500,000 people, the electronic media transmitted the words and mood probably to every apartment in our country, and the newspapers document the events today. All in all, this is the promising start of the freedom of opinion, press, and assembly being achieved and translated into reality.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a common denominator for the pluralism of opinions as expressed in the 27 speeches—not to speak of banners, hecklers' shouts, spoken choruses, and discussions. Despite this, the attempt shall be made to take the opinion and attitude—not as the only one, but as the dominant one—home from this protest demonstration, that is, that a socialism that is renewing itself is and must remain the essence and basis of self-assured GDR identity. By the way, the document "With a Renewed National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] for the Renewal of Socialism in the GDR," which can be read in the weekend [4-5 November] edition of the NATIONAL-ZEITUNG and has been put up for public discussion, is also based on this.

The finding that the claim to leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is not established, but has to be acquired by really convincing attitudes and achievements of officials in the leadership, as well as in small municipalities, is one of the plain truths that were voiced via microphones at Alexanderplatz or especially discussed in the NDPD conferences in the past weeks. It can be assumed that the SED Central Committee will start from this realistic position when it will resolve an action program in the next few days. The many voices who called for giving a chance to the new man at the head of the SED and of the state and to make the experience of change and renewal, perestroyka and glasnost, possible in practical policy should be heard.

Another plain truth is the finding that the new start—something rigid was broken up—was carried out by the people of this GDR. This process acquired a new dimension when the change also took place in the parties and big organizations. The respect and recognition which the NDPD leadership shows toward all party friends who responsibly face social tasks and confrontations in this hard time includes this finding.

This Saturday in Berlin made it sufficiently clear that sharp and precarious confrontations are imminent in this country. It will be of decisive importance who has the most prudent, realistic, and credible concepts of renewal. The NDPD's considerations have been presented. The SED action program will follow. The opportunity to make public statements should also be speedily given to citizens' initiatives, such as the New Forum.

We need the conflicts of opinions and tolerance, sincere words and honest work.

### Decree Against Export Violations Announced

*AU0911124289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 89 pp 1,2*

[ADN report: "40,000 Violations of Export Regulations Since the Beginning of the Year"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—A regulation on itinerant trade in the GDR is to be submitted to the government by the responsible ministers by the end of this year. This was announced by Guenther Arndt, first deputy head of the GDR Customs Administration, in an ADN interview on Monday [6 November]. The goal is to establish a basis to prevent speculative trade with goods which have been illegally imported or acquired in the GDR. These illegal deals involve M300 to M500 million per year.

Purchases of goods by foreigners in "trade dimensions" are also reflected in the increasing number of violations of the GDR customs regulations. According to Guenther Arndt, from January to October these violations increased by 30 percent to a total of 40,000 compared with the same period of last year. During the third quarter of 1989 the Customs Investigation Department started 57 investigations, 39 of them against Polish citizens, 10 against GDR citizens, and others against citizens of the FRG, the CSSR, the USSR, and Romania. [passage omitted]

Guenther Arndt noted that at present the increasing transit traffic through the GDR between Poland and Berlin (West) is creating problems. The customs organs are trying with increased work to come to grips with the cycle of purchase in the GDR—smuggling to Berlin (West) and selling there—exchange of the revenue into GDR marks—new purchases in the GDR. [passage omitted]

### Deputy Foreign Minister Holds Talks in Congo

*AU0911154189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 89 p 7*

[ADN report: "GDR and Congo for Settlement of Conflicts"]

[Text] Brazzaville (ADN)—Political consultations were held in Brazzaville by GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Heinz-Dieter Winter and Congolese Foreign Minister Antoine Ndinga-Oba. The topic was, among others, the contribution of the two countries to improving the climate in international relations, and in particular to the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. In this connection, the process of Namibia's independence and peace in Angola were the main issues of the dicussion.

## Daily Remarks 'Hungarians Can Trust Mladenov'

*AU1311145289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Nov 89 p 2*

[Article by Oszkar Fuzes: "Changeover in Sofia"]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, the former leader of the partisans of the antifascist uprising in Sofia, was the doyen of East European leaders: He had been leading the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and subsequently, the Bulgarian state since April 1956. Partial de-Stalinization, the elimination of flagrant illegalities, and development unparalleled in the history of this backward small Balkan state, all these achievements are linked with his name.

This development reached its limits already at the beginning of the seventies. Zhivkov clearly recognized this: Bulgaria has been constantly trying to introduce changes ever since 1971. For an outside observer, the essence of these rather zig-zagging reorganizations has always been to increase the efficiency of the state-socialist political and economic mechanism of the party-state. Sofia is not alone in recognizing the hopelessness of improving the bad after a long series of failures. Today, Bulgaria has become strongly indebted, and despite its outstanding endowments, it is unable to supply itself with food, and its industrial structure has become obsolete. Sofia is unfavorably affected by the Soviet economic crisis because two-thirds of the Bulgarian national income is funded in some way through the Soviet Union.

The revival of Bulgarian national awareness is mentioned among Zhivkov's merits. However, it is a fact that this also led to conflict-ridden consequences; denying the existence of national minorities was detrimental to the people living in Bulgaria who consider themselves of Turkish origin. Today, this represents a burden for Bulgarian foreign policy, which has been one of the successful Bulgarian efforts that did much to help the cause of cooperation in the Balkans, and in Europe in general.

Petar Mladenov, who has been foreign minister for almost 20 years, probably also owes his unimpaired prestige to the fact that he cannot be blamed for the domestic policy mistakes. It is a fact that, in discussion with the author of this article 10 years ago, he was pondering how to bid farewell to Stalinism without causing a commotion. What could be regarded as a strictly private conversation at that time, has now become a political program.

Zhivkov was also a supporter of the thousand-year-old sympathy between Hungary and Bulgaria. The Hungarians can trust Mladenov: The foreign minister-turned party general secretary has for a long time been interested in our reforms. He was among the first in Bulgaria who understood the challenge of our times, the need for fundamental changes.

## Recent Romanian Harassment of Hungarians Viewed

*AU0911170489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Nov 89 p 3*

[Editorial by Peter Vajda: "Words"]

[Text] Two pieces of news came from there in a single day. One piece of news was about Laszlo Tokes, the priest from Temesvar who has always pledged his Hungarian origin. His father, who was on his way there at the request of his son, together with his 16-year-old granddaughter, were pulled off the train and held by the police all night long. Later, they were deported back to Kolozsvar. A few days later, masked men broke into Laszlo Tokes' flat and beat him up and cut him up with knives. According to the priest, their goal was not larceny or robbery; prior to this brutal attack, strangers had threatened him with death in "a chauvinistic spirit."

The other news came from our border guards. A spray, that is, tear-gas, was blown into the eyes of four Hungarian citizens in a single day at the Romanian border crossing of Nagylak. The border guards took apart one Hungarian citizen's car, and he was sprayed in answer to the request to put it back together. Following long hours of waiting well into the night, three other Hungarian citizens, including the pensioned Szilvassy couple, asked when they could cross the border. Tear-gas was sprayed into their eyes, too. One must add that this is not something harmless. Most countries ban the use of tear gas because, in unfortunate cases, the ensuing blindness is not temporary.

We think that these news items are of the same sort. Intimidation is their common goal. In the first case, formally they wanted to intimidate a priest, but in reality they wanted to intimidate his flock: an entire ethnic group. In the other case, we are probably talking about victims selected at random. Like decimation. The news does not mention whether they wanted to take NEPSZABADSAG or the Bible into Romanian territory, things that are forbidden, of course. The Romanian authorities simply wanted to discourage our citizens from traveling to Romania to visit their relatives.

Such things can succeed for a limited time. A congregation in Temesvar has been deprived of its pastor, and the border barrier at Nagylak will probably have to be raised less frequently. However, both distant and recent past events prove that such measures do not generally pay off in the long term. It would be foolish to believe that Romania's problems and especially national minority tensions are caused by "recalcitrant priests" or perhaps by the inciting activity of Hungarian pensioners visiting their relatives. The roots of all these problems lie much deeper, namely in an inhumane practice unworthy of Europe, a practice which history has already condemned. Figuratively speaking: The writing about this is on the wall, and one needs only to read the words. Regimes based on barbed wire and sprays must also understand that words have their power too. And especially words of protest.

## Polish Planning Office Chief Meets Nemeth

*LD0811215289 Budapest MTI in English 2042 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—Minister Jerzy Osiatynski, chairman of the Polish Central Planning Office, held talks in Budapest November 7-8 at the invitation of Erno Kemenes, president of the National Planning Office.

The sides agreed upon the fundamental tasks of plan coordination for the period 1991-95, and the main principles of economic cooperation, and urged to introduce in 1990 new solutions that would help enforce market mechanisms in bilateral economic and commercial relations.

Mr Osiatynski met Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and held talks with Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

## Italy's De Michelis Meets HDF, SDPH Leaders

*LD1311135889 Budapest MTI in English 1122 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—Gianni de Michelis, Socialist Party Italian minister of foreign affairs—who also participated in the four-sided Italian, Austrian, Yugoslav and Hungarian, government-level meeting held in Budapest over the weekend—has met with presidents of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [SDPH].

The talks between Jozsef Antall, president of the HDF, and head of Italian diplomacy focused on the cooperation in the Adriatic- Danube region. Mr Antall told MTI that HDF felt there was a need for approach between the Mediterranean and the Danube regions, as traditional relations date back to the medieval ages. Regional cooperation would be a crucial factor in bringing about European unity and catching up with the developed countries of Europe. This involves the reevaluation of the entire central European region, a process also marked by the changing of eras of historical significance, said Jozsef Antall.

Anna Petrasovits, president of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, takes a definite stand for this form of regional cooperation. In the course of their talks with De Michelis, both sides thought that an excessive German dominance in Hungary's foreign trade would not be in Hungary's interest. Such dominance is not likely to come about in future, as the top priority in European policy is currently the German question. Changes in the GDR will probably preoccupy the foreign political and economic forces of the FRG. "We feel that one of the driving forces of Central European integration will be precisely Italy," Anna Petrasovits stressed.

The SPDH raised the question of Czechoslovakia's potential integration into the cooperation system, although, at present, there are obstacles. However, it is exactly the organic historical development that justifies the need for junctions which will gradually connect the Czechs and Slovaks, when such junctions are allowed by the political situations there, into the four-sided consultations. the SPDH wishes to emphasize that Czechoslovakia is an integral part of Central Europe, Ms Petrasovits said.

## Szuros Receives Austrian Association President

*LD0911181989 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met Fritz Marsch, president of the Austro-Hungarian Association and former president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Austrian Parliament, in the Parliament building on Thursday [9 November]. The Austrian politician said that his country sought to play the role of a bridge between Hungary and the other European states. Mr Szuros spoke emphatically on the good-neighborly relations between the two countries and stressed that both sides were making efforts to strengthen them.

## Trade Minister Beck Heads Delegation to Kuwait

### Beck Meets Prime Minister

*LD0711184189 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 7 Nov 89*

[Text] Kuwait, November 7 (MTI)—A Hungarian business delegation headed by Minister of Trade Tamas Beck started official talks in Kuwait on Tuesday.

Mr Beck met Shaykh Sa'd al-Abdallah al-Salim Al-Sabah, crown prince and prime minister, to whom he conveyed a message by Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. According to the messsage, the Hungarian Government gives a favourable assessment to the development of political and economic ties with Kuwait. It emphasizes that Hungary's foreign economic opening is directed not only towards the advanced capitalist countries but also towards the Arab partners. Hungary reckons with the involvement of Kuwaiti state and private capital, Mr Nemeth stressed in the message.

The crown prince and prime minister of Kuwait is scheduled to visit Hungary in the spring of 1990.

On Tuesday, Mr Beck held talks with Fahd al-Rashid, managing director of the Kuwait investment office. He gave briefs on investment opportunities in Hungary and proposed to set up a Hungarian-Kuwaiti investment fund.

## Beck Talks to Kuwaiti Paper

*JN1211193789 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 11 Nov 89 p 27*

[By 'Abdallah al-Na'nish]

[Text] Hungarian Trade Minister Tamas Beck has said it is no longer possible to talk about the "Eastern Bloc" in its old traditional concept because this "expression" has ended. In an exclusive statement to AL-QABAS, the Hungarian minister explained that the political and economic reform movements in the socialist European countries are different from one country to the next—a fact that nullifies the concept of the "Eastern Bloc".

The Hungarian minister also said: "The time when one country dominated another country's domestic affairs and economic and political policies is gone."

Asked if the current economic reforms in East European countries conflict with the socialist concept of Marxist-Leninist theory, the Hungarian minister said that "time has changed." He explained that the economic system in the socialist countries needs "new ways," especially since we are approaching the 21st century. But he expressed his belief that there is no conflict between the market economy and the socialist system, and that the two can be reconciled as in the case of Sweden.

The Hungarian trade minister paid an official visit to Kuwait last week and signed an agreement with Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah, oil minister and acting finance minister, to protect and encourage investment.

He stressed that it is impossible to link the current changes and reforms in countries like Poland and Hungary with what is happening in the Soviet Union. He noted that the difficulties facing the "perestroyka" being pursued by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will not necessarily reflect on the reform movements in the other socialist countries. The Hungarian trade minister expressed his hope that the Soviet "glasnost" will succeed because it will produce good results for the "whole world."

He also explained that the reform movement in his country stems from realistic thinking regardless whether these reforms conflict with previous positions. Asked about the future of world communism, the minister said: "People should walk on the ground and not fly off with their dreams." He pointed out that the Stalinist socialism that prevailed in the fifties has "died."

Tamas Beck, 60 years old, was appointed trade minister last year. He has held several government posts in the past and worked at the Ministry of Industry from 1952 to 1963. He graduated from the engineering college at Budapest University and went on to Princeton University in the United States to complete his studies from 1972 to 1973.

## Western Financial Aid 'Just Nice Gesture'

*LD0811104289 Budapest MTI in English 0926 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 8, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—As things stand at the moment, the financial help the 24 industrial countries have offered Hungary and Poland to promote reforms—this will take the form of loans, credit guarantees and customs reductions—is just a nice gesture. For the time being, all it signals to foreign business circles is that investment risks have lessened in Hungary. Any appreciable result can only be expected by early next year when the loans are gradually disbursed and the customs reductions take effect, said Mr Gyorgy Suranyi, deputy president of the Hungarian Planning Office, in a statement to the latest edition of the weekly "HETI VILAGGAZDASAG'.

Mr Suranyi admitted that project loans alone were safe from the risk of being swallowed up by the budget deficit or debt service. The only thing that could stop financial loans from 'going down the drain' would be a complete transformation of the economy, involving a constraint on Hungary's foreign borrowing and more efficient utilization of the country's resources, including credits, Mr Suranyi went on.

He stressed that unlike Poland, which needs help to keep its economy going, Hungary would rather Western assistance focussed on improving the Western market access of its goods and on financial cooperation.

As far as credits go, the agreement with the IMF remains of fundamental importance, the top planning office executive said. He added that although they could expect another tough round of talks ahead, they hoped to reach an agreement with the IMF by December.

Mr Suranyi said the convertible current account deficit of 1 billion USD [U.S. Dollars] was 'disappointing', and said plans next year will have to concentrate on scrapping this huge amount.

## Nyers Comments on 'European Integration'

*LD0911100389 Budapest MTI in English 0826 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 9, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—To get itself modernized, Hungary needs three things from the West: Capital, technology and modernization patterns in the widest sense of the word—that includes modern economic management techniques, certain institutions of democracy, as well as the trappings of general civilization. This is what Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, had to say in his address to the Swedish Academy of Foreign Affairs on Tuesday.

He warned against any form of forced approach to the West, because pressing for a conservative monetary-type transformation could, as he put it, easily turn Hungary into "the Latin America of Europe".

A reasonable strategy for Hungary to adopt would be to establish closer ties with the European integration. As to the actual forms of approach, Mr Nyers, a reform-minded economist for the past twenty years, mentioned associated membership of the European Communities and membership of EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

He went on to say that Hungarians clearly see that the Western European integration is unlikely to be extended as far as the Western borders of the USSR in the foreseeable future. This is why Hungary could play the role of middleman in a special free-trade zone: It could be a sort of a "bridge, with one span in Moscow and the other in the economic sphere of the common market".

At Confederation of Swedish Industry headquarters, Mr Nyers said Hungarian companies will have to stand on their own two feet by the period between 1993 and 1995. Over the three years until that time, state subsidies will have to be reduced to half the present amount. Using these arguements, he stressed the time had come for the West to take Hungary off the list of state-controlled trading nations.

## Horn Remarks on Arms Talks Clarified

*LD1011231589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Nov 89*

[Text] A statement by the Hungarian foreign minister could have been misunderstood. Istvan Kulcsar has spoken on this to Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry:

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] Mr State Secretary, in Friday's issue of NEPSZABADSAG, a [word indistinct] report appeared about the speech yesterday by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn at Kiskunhalas. They quote him as saying that the withdrawl of Soviet troops from Hungary depends on the talks next February in Vienna on the reduction of military force. We do not know that next February further talks on the reduction of military force will commence in Vienna.

[Kovacs] This is misquoted. It is quite obvious that the foreign minister was referring to the Vienna talks which, as is generally known, are under way, on the reduction of European conventional armed forces and weapons, and it is obvious that the continued withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, beyond what the Soviet Union declared unilaterally, and which is under way, depends on the Vienna agreement. So, no talks are commencing in February, and I would not dare hope either that these talks might conclude in February. What can be hoped is that during the course of next year, an agreement is reached and then the implementation of this, and in the framework of this perhaps, the complete withdrawl of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary might happen within 2 or 3 years. [end recording]

## 2 Refugees Granted Asylum Under 15 Oct Decree

*LD0811122489 Budapest MTI in English 1126 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—So far, two people have been granted political asylum in Hungary since the related government decree took effect on October 15.

The total number of applications was 44, 41 which are still under consideration. The remaining applicant has already had his request turned down, MTI was told by an official of the Home Affairs Ministry's Office for Refugees.

One of those granted asylum is a Soviet citizens and the other Bulgarian. The former participated in demonstrations in the Ukraine and was therefore imprisoned and later denied employment. The Bulgarian citizen took a stand for ethnic Turks in his country, and as a consequence, his life was made extremely miserable and unbearable. Neither of the two speaks Hungarian.

The person refused asylum is an ethnic Hungarian from Romania who has been living in Hungary for 18 months on a residence permit valid until 1991. Since he is entitled to the same rights as any Hungarian citizen, he is ineligible for asylum under the Geneva convention. When the emigration and immigration law comes into force next year, he is most likely to receive Hungarian citizenship.

The majority of those submitting applications are Hungarian nationals from Romania, and a few from Czechoslovakia. At present, there are 24,000 Romanian citizens in Hungary, over 18,000 of which are Hungarian nationals and 4,200 Romanians. The other 1,100 belong to the German minority.

The 353-million-forint resettlement fund the Hungarian Government set up for this year had already run out by the end of October. Most of this amount (130 million forints) went on buying housing and building plots. An additional 87 million was spent on the construction of receiving stations, and another 82 million on various settlement and other allowances. Health-care expenses also ran high, including the cost of education.

The Ministry of Home Affairs contributed an additional loan of 15-20 million forints from its own budget to help the refugees, and has requested a further 150 million forints from the government for this year.

It is also expected that the rest of the 4.9 million dollars proposed by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (so far, one million dollars has arrived) will also be made available in the foreseeable future.

## Four Parties Give News Conference on Referendum

*LD0811212189 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—The Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) request the electors to say yes to all questions raised at the November 26 referendum, it was stated during the joint press conference of the four parties in Budapest on Wednesday.

As reported, the referendum was called in the wake of the petition organized by the Alliance of Free Democrats that the people decide on disbanding the Workers' Militia, abolishing party cells at workplaces, giving account for the property of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) and setting a date for the presidential elections either before or after the parliamentary elections.

SZDSZ spokesman Peter Tolgyessy pointed out that the referendum will enable citizens to decide on their own on relevant political matters for the first time in 40 years. However, the state party wanted to make democratic advancement appear as its own donation by proposing the referendum. Mr Tolgyessy said this democratic achievement was not a donation given to the Hungarians, but it had been attained by the people themselves.

Imre Konya of the independent lawyers' forum said that parliament had violated the law on referendum. Although it called a referendum, the questions put on the ballot-papers differ from those on the petititon sheets signed by 200,000 citizens. Mr Konya considered it another breach of law that parliament decided to provide the ballot-paper with explanatory remarks. It aggravates the situation that these remarks are expressly misleading, he said.

Mr Konya announced that the four parties' joint platform might pave the way for future cooperation between the opposition forces. This would be all the more important, he argued, since the opposition parties do not have any coordinating forum today.

The four parties' representatives shared the view that the presidential candidates were not granted equal chances. They said that much more publicity was given to the candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party than to the persons nominated by the other organizations.

In conclusion, an SZDSZ leader said that the four parties opposed the idea of putting the national media under the control of a multi-party body. In this case, they argued, the media would once again be subordianted to aspirations for power. In their view, all social services should be neutral and unbiased.

## Social Democrats Hold News Conference

*AU0811144889 Budapest MTI in English 1828 GMT 6 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, 6 Nov (MTI)—After its successful congress, a stronger Social Democratic Party will start in the electoral race, Anna Petrasovics, the new president of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH), told the press on Monday. The news conference was also attended by the eight members of the presidium: Otto Angyal, Tibor Baranyai, Sandor Bacskai, Pal Benyo, Endre Borbely, Gyorgy Fischer, Istvan Gasko, and Janos Korompai. Beside them, the congress elected a 31-member board and a 102-strong national council.

Ms Petrasovics said that the three-day congress attained its aim of devising the party's political line through clarifying debates. The delegates approved the party rules and the draft political manifesto, which will be finalized in a national party conference next January.

The SDPH set the chief political aims of establishing a system of bourgeois democratic institutions and organizing civil society, Ms Petrasovics said.

The presidium members stressed that the SDPH would concentrate on the 1995 elections since it did not wish to risk its political future and credit by taking part in government in the supposed economic crisis of the 1990s.

## Free Democrats' Official on Political Uncertainty

*AU0911142989*

[Editorial report] Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian on 7 November on page 3 carries a 2,000-word interview with Miklos Gaspar Tamas, member of the Executive Body of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], by Maria Lukacs, under the headline: "Every Revolution Is Frightening: Thirst for Revenge Does Not Lead to a Better World."

Discussing the fears prevailing in the current period of political transition, the subsequent uncertainty, and the possibility of extremist manifestations, Tamas is quoted as saying that "in all revolutionary times there are types of people who demand a settling of accounts" with those responsible for the "bad times of the past." However, concerning the SZDSZ, they want "a change in the regime, and not a takeover" and, according to Tamas, he is "not anticommunist, but anticommunism," and he believes that "there is no need for a bloody class struggle" in order to separate the economy from the state.

Asked about the ways to achieve this, Tamas is quoted as saying that "it is important to reduce to a minimum the interference of the state in economic processes" and that "the state should not play a role in the market." As for the fear of a political vacuum, Tamas is quoted as saying that "this is only a paternalistic reflex" and that a "strong and huge government only disturbs the processes in the life of society."

In the conclusion of his interview, Tamas deals with the tasks of restructuring and the need to "filter out" extremism on each side. According to Tamas, "a lot of reorganization is still to be expected at this political stage," and he does not think that this should be interpreted as "chaos," but as a "move toward order."

## SZOT Displeased With Economic Program

*LD0911041489 Budapest MTI in English*
*2342 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—The economic policy programme of the government for the period 1990-1992 does not comply with the interests of wage and salary earners and does not offer a realistic chance of getting out of the economic crisis, the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] concluded in its Wednesday session.

The programme was blamed for laying excessive emphasis on the balance of payments. Since the government envisages further cuts in real wages and consumption, the programme cannot be based on the employees growing performance, the SZOT Presidium said.

The planned changes in taxation will discourage performance. If they are not accompanied by genuine steps towards wage and social-welfare policy reforms, the government will face growing labour discontent, the SZOT Presidium said.

## SZOT To Be Replaced by Coordination Council

*LD0911173389 Budapest Domestic Service*
*in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] The National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] has decided to reorganize its structure. Erno Kardos reports.

[Kardos] Although it has not yet dissolved itself, the SZOT has essentially returned its mandate. Until the February congress it only has the right to formulate the report. So, I could say, SZOT is preparing its last testament. In its place, there will be the National Coordination Council [Orszagos Koordinacios Tanacs] in which, alongside the branch and sector trade unions, trade unions which are classed as national may also have representation.

The presidium also returned its mandate. Its place will be taken by the Executive Committee [Intezoe Bizottsag], whose task will be to deal with the operative matters of the organization.

Sandor Nagy remains the general secretary of SZOT, which now has limited powers. He was also elected chairman of the Coordination Council, so the rumors relating to his resignation were not true.

## Committee To Investigate Army Abuse Allegations

*LD0911225189 Budapest MTI in English*
*2100 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—The parliamentary sub-committee set up to examine the impact on the Army of engineer colonel Imre Bokor's book published recently under the title "Petty Monarchs in Uniform" held its first closed session on Thursday. The author, a retired head of department at the Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy of Budapest, wrote about abuses in the Army and the various "affairs" of high-ranking officers, including the former ministers of defence and the current one.

The book attracted nationwide interest. In the wake of a contribution by MP [Member of Parliament] Janos Marton at the October 18 session of Parliament, the prime minister proposed to set up a parliamentary committee to investigate the allegations included in the book. In the latest session of Parliament, MP Ferenc Kiraly presented an interpellation on the book and the retirement of the author.

The nine-strong investigating committee, composed of members of the Defence Committee and the representatives of the various parliamentary groups, will put forward a report to the National Assembly.

Mr Bokor said that although he had no concrete documents on what he had written, he can call several witnesses in evidence. In his view, his recent pensioning was a reprisal for the book. The representative of the Ministry of Defense said that the ministry would give every assistance to investigation.

## NEPSZABADSAG on Political Changes

*AU0811133289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG*
*in Hungarian 7 Nov 89 p 3*

[Editorial by Jozsef Geczi: "What Will Happen to Us, the Left-Wing?"]

[Text] You have broken up the party—our orthodox friends are scolding us, the reformers. This is a noteworthy accusation, with a slight flaw in it. First of all, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] of the one-party system—or, the zero-party system, as people smartly call it nowadays—was not even a political party. What broke up was a bureaucratic state-party formation with feudal headquarters, party mandarins, and assisting members. This formation is beyond repair, even if it did have "its moments." If we want to discard the burdens of state-socialism which shut us out from the world economy, we must carry things through, no matter how dramatic this is for all of us. Besides, the MSZMP did not break up at this congress. Most left-wing oriented people who remember the times prior to 1948 have always felt that something is not in order here, and something went wrong. The original socialist concept has turned upside down. On the other hand, precisely in

Hungary, the leaders, the "partisans" within the apparatus, and the members have for decades been fidgeting in this state-party coat.

The bad mood of the intelligentsia around the party turned into political perceptions first in 1968 and then during the Polish crisis between 1980 and 1981. Gorbachev started around 1985. A decisive part of the MSZMP leadership at that time—which earlier had so often referred to realpolitics and to the conservative big brother—stopped and switched to "biding their time," to a neutral gear. The revolt of the party members began. This revolt forced the party to hold its party conference in May, a conference that failed to bring about a renewal of the MSZMP; what followed was political activity outside the party and the dramatic emergence of a multiparty system. A party crisis began at the end of the summer of 1988: stalemate, waiting for a miracle, hasty actions, and concentric defense at the top; and retreat, massive withdrawals from the party, and the decay of basic party organization activity at the bottom. The agony of the MSZMP was finished so quickly that the dissolution of the state-party became an irreversible process. Reform forces could organize both at the top and at the bottom in an atmosphere of chaotic liberalism. (At least those who stayed on.) This reform movement still succeeded in breathing some life into the state-party and "kept thrusting it forward" until the congress.

The activity of the reformers also led to the organization of other groups within the party. An outsider could have interpreted this as a long-desired revival of "party life" in the MSMZP. Some people entertained a delusive hope of a "Big Unity", and others hoped for the "Big Split." Nobody wanted the final result. People found this either too much or too little. Political activity that grew into national trends had been going on for only 6 months. The elite, the professionals, and the grass-root reformers all proved to be amateurs in this area. The left-wing progressive forces showed up spectacularly at the congress. These forces did not, and could not, win their cause with a single big step. Bad situation evaluations, wrong salvaging tactics, and an awareness of moral mission confronted each other and confused the political debates beyond recognition. Viewing this situation in retrospective, not much else could realistically occur given the confinement of the old structure and reflexes. However, nothing at all would have occurred without such a "situation." Both the reformers and the conservatives considered this congress as a defeat, for one reason or another.

But nobody says and shouts: People, a miracle has occurred here! For the first time in world history, the state-party of a so-called Stalinist model has broken itself up! This was enough of a historical task for 4 days. Therefore, it is no wonder that concrete action programs, election package deals, and messages to the "nation" and messages to the opposition "modestly" accepting the voice of the nation failed to materialize. The last thing we needed was final decisions patched up by the last congress of the state- party with old reflexed and obsolete working methods! It is true, however, that the newly-organized Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] is in a difficult situation. While it is busy with elementary problems of restarting, it has to conclude the congress in the aforementioned sense of the word.

There is not a single strong left-wing party in Hungary today which could place social solidarity, equality, and social security in the focus of its policy. The left-wing is fidgeting within the Social-Democratic Party, but their program is more classically liberal. Although a HSP member should not judge others, one must nevertheless say that, so far, the Social-Democratic Party has been more in the periphery of the Association of Free Democrats, rather than its autonomous ally. The HSP could be the other potential modern left-wing party. However, carrying the burden of the past and facing the crisis mood of the society and the superior exultation of the opposition, this party is struggling with tremendous difficulties. It has to regain its own confidence and the confidence of others. If it fails to pull itself together and brush off the remaining state-party eggshells from its garment in the coming months, the left wing will be able to recover only after many years, perhaps as a countereffect of a right-wing wave.

A further paradox is that, while the reformers and generally the left-wing have become uncertain, various sects are getting organized. Increasingly new MSZMPs are emerging. Since we have already forgotten the real sense of the word, we even keep calling them left-wing groups. One can say that a fraternal war has broken out among the comrades. We should finally call the state-socialist orthodoxy, the bureaucratic pseudo-revolutionary utopia, or often simply the power pragmatism on their true name: a (left-wing) conservatism. Unlike as many people think, it is not the opposition that is now burying the left-wing, including the social-democratic and communist movements. Stalinism has already finished them off properly.

Neither the right-wing conservative demagogy nor the neo-Stalinist organization can disturb the rebirth of the socialist movement. The HSP should seek alliance with the Social-Democratic Party and with the left-wing of other parties, and not seek an alliance in the direction of socialist bureaucratic conservatives. The HSP should strive for correct relations and not for alliance with the MSZMP-type parties which have so far been typically left-wing conservative in their outlook. Of course, correct relations are also difficult to achieve as long as the MSZMP wants to continue as if nothing had happened. Another very important thing is that, precisely because of the MSZMP statements that can be misinterpreted, and the general confusion, really reform-oriented socialists and communists whose place would be in the HSP have drifted toward the aforementioned sects. The reform socialists and the reform communists are not in a situation today to allow themselves to organize in different parties!

## Passport Official on New Travel Regulations

*AU0711160789 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Nov 89 p 5*

[Interview with Police Lt-Colonel Ferenc Balint, head of the Passports Department of the Ministry of Interior, by Zoltan Gyulay: "In A New Way, With the Old Passport—What Is Now the Task of the Passport Department?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Recently, the National Assembly adopted the law on travel abroad and passports, and the law on emigration and immigration. There is a general opinion that the deputies voted for a regulation that is standing the test in every respect. However, work has not finished with this; on the contrary, the work is really beginnig now for the competent authorities. We talked with Ferenc Balint.

[Gyulay] Following the enacting of the new law on travel abroad and on passports that will be in force as of 1 January 1990, will anything change for us citizens; where do we have to register our application for a passport?

[Balint] At the same place as before. That is to say, the request has to be registered with the police department of one's residential area; the authority in question has to justify a possible negative decision, and an appeal against such a decision can be lodged at the municipal and the county police headquarters respectively. If all this fails to bring results, there is room for legal action, and the court will have the final word. [passage omitted]

[Gyulay] The legal regulation on the introduction of a world passport, a regulation that is still in force, more or less fulfilled the requirements. Why was it necessary to come up with a law?

[Balint] First of all, the agreement on civil and political rights ratified by the Hungarian Parliament in 1976 stipulates, among other things, that travel abroad can be limited only by law; thus, Hungarian legislation has now compensated for a delay of 13 years. [passage omitted]

[Gyulay] What is the task of your department at present?

[Balint] Our basic task is to prepare the heads and passport officials of district police departments for the new situation deriving from the new law, and we guarantee a uniform application of the law. In other words, we provide professional guidance. [passage omitted]

[Gyulay] Let us talk about the legal guarantees in a little more detail....

[Balint] As I already mentioned, every competent authority is obliged to justify a possible negative decision. It is a completely new element if a negative decision emerges in the second instance, and an appeal can be lodged against this in the court. This equally refers to the decisions of the police headquarters and to our department. I also consider it extremely important to have lay assessors take part in the decision, including the hearing of the sides involved, if necessary.

[Gyulay] Since 23 October there has been a change in the name of our country, and a similar change is expected to occur with our coat-of-arms too. Both things appear on our current passports. Can we expect any change in this respect in the near future?

[Balint] Of course; these changes must also appear on our travel documents. However, this will be the result of a longer process for which we must prepare both financially and technically. This will also cost a lot of money. In my view, the only way to imagine a change in the travel document is that both the old and the new passports will be valid for a period of time. [passage omitted]

## New Press Agency Has Started Operating

*LD0911214989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Under the name of Eastern European Independent Press Agency, a new information dissemination service has started operating.

## Kohl Meetings Reportage Continues, Visit Ends

### Speaks at Warsaw Dinner

*AU1311170889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-12 Nov 89 p 2*

[Speech by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl at a dinner in his honor given by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Warsaw on 9 November]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Premier, Ministers, ladies and gentlemen! Thank you very much, also on behalf of my delegation, for the warm words of welcome. During these days, we would like to expand the foundation of our people's common future—a future of freedom, solidarity, and peace.

The Germans and the Poles—neighbors in the heart of Europe—have spent most of their history living in peace, a fact which is not sufficiently known. It is also true that they have inflicted deep wounds on each other, especially in recent times. The most tragic chapter in their history commenced in 1939, and its authors were the national socialist dictators in the hands of whom state power in Germany then rested.

Over 2 months ago, in a German statement given in the Bundestag, I recalled the boundless suffering inflicted first of all on Poland as a result of World War II which was flared up by Hitler. The Hitlerites started an unprecedented campaign aimed at enslaving and exterminating the Polish people.

On behalf of Germany and by the hands of Germans, terrible suffering was inflicted on Poland.

However, it is also true that over 2 million Germans, innocent people, forfeited their lives during escape and expulsion. Today, many of my countrymen feel the pain caused by the loss of their fatherland. Nevertheless, they also know how important it is to draw lessons from history and act in the spirit of peace and mutual respect.

As early as 1950, Germans and refugees who had been expelled from their fatherland ceremoniously declared in their "Stuttgart Charter" that they were abandoning their desire for revenge and spoke out clearly in favor of a united Europe "in which nations may live without fear and coercion." These people must remain included in this work of reconciliation, and that is what they want.

It is the Polish Catholic bishops who sent a moving message to the German Episcopate in 1965. It read: "In this Christian and humanitarian spirit, we reach out our hands to you. We offer forgiveness and ask for forgiveness."

To this, the German bishops replied: "A mutual counting of wrongs and injuries cannot be of help-...please forgive us."

The joint statement by German and Polish Catholics on the 50th anniversary of World War II, beneath which your signature is prominent, Mr Premier, talks of a "future Europe of justice, peace, and freedom."

We are guided by an unshakeable desire to fill in the precipices that appeared in the past and to erect stable bridgeheads that serve the common work of accord and peace in the spirit of human rights. In this spirit, Konrad Adenauer said that one of the FRG's most important moral commitments is to:

—Seek ways of reconciliation with former enemies of war, especially France and Poland, and;

—Aim for an accord with the State of Israel and with Jews all over the world.

On a joint platform of freedom, democracy, and a rule of law, relations with France and Israel were able to develop in a way no one had even dreamed of just after the war. Prejudices are doomed where people are able to meet each other and enjoy their freedom. Freedom is the prerequisite for the genuine peace that begins in the hearts of people.

In your initial government speech, Mr Premier, you correctly said that peoples are further ahead than governments in the work of rapprochement. By assuming your office and creating a new government, you opened a new era in Polish, as well as European, postwar history.

Right now, you and your country are following a road leading to freedom and pluralism. You are implementing far-reaching reforms. You are opening Poland to cooperation with new partners.

Therefore, my visit is also a symbol of solidarity. We encourage you to persist in following the road you have chosen, for Europe needs a free and stable Poland! Both of these topics are closely interrelated; without freedom, one cannot achieve permanent stability, and without it no social progress whatsoever is possible.

Freedom is the key concept of our time—it is the key to a peaceful future. In his book "Man and the State," Jacques Maritain wrote that a desire for freedom that transcends state borders does not stem from a fear of external danger, but from a desire to unite all creative forces for the sake of one common goal. That goal is "the regaining of freedom."

Today, the whole of Europe is watching the great Polish people who are imparting, not for the first time in their history, new life to the most valuable traditions of our continent.

A joint desire for freedom and self-determination is also a feature of one of the periods of development in the history of our two peoples. During the Polish struggles for independence in the years 1830 and 1831 and later, Germany was engulfed by a wave of enthusiasm and sentiment for its neighbor.

In my native Palatinate, the culminating point in this period was the congress in the castle of Hambach (Hambacher Fest) on 27 May 1832, during which the red and white flag flew beside the black, red, and yellow one, and the German, Polish, and French students gathered there demanded constitutions and civic rights for all of the peoples of Europe and extolled peace in their songs. In their speeches, they said: "Without a free Poland there will be no free Germany. Without a free Poland there will be no lasting peace. So—to battle for Poland's resurrection!"

Is not the "fraternity" of which the French revolutionaries spoke an old definition of what we call "solidarity" today? These ties remain, and not even the war and period of dictatorship were able to destroy them.

A major symbol of this is Krzyzowa [Kreisau]. This town was one of the focal points of the German resistance movement against Hitler. It is the symbnol of the new, better Germany which we will honor by taking part in a joint divince service. The FRG honors this inalienable heritage and wishes to bequeath it to future generations.

It ought to be said that you yourself have carefully studied the life and works of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Mr Premier. Your own personal history is proof of the fact that one must never give up the struggle for freedom, human rights, and self-determination. Time works to the advantage of freedom, not to its detriment.

In consequence of World War II, Gwrmany and its capital became divided. On millions of my countrymen was imposed a regime which they have not accepted to this day. During the past few days and weeks, hundreds of thousands of people have peacefully demonstrated their avowed desire not to come to terms with this absence of freedom.

The Basic Law of the FRG speaks out in favor of the "untangible and inalienable rights of man, which provide the basis for each individual, peace, and justice in thwe world."

The Basic Law firmly reects war and force as political methods, and thus rejects any revanchism whatsoever. It calls for a united Europe, and calls on the entire German people to "lead to a unity and freedom for Germany under conditions of free self- determination."

Our decision in favor of an alliance with the free dmocracies of the West and for the sake of increasingly close ties with our European partners is final. It means abandoning Germany's separate road and solo nationalist escapades, and making a firm contribution to stabilization in Europe.

I realize how greatly important from Poland's angle is our republic's strong connection with the West. By "West" I mean a communion of values, to which free peoples belong, and in which human dignity enjoys a higher status than any state authority. The Polish people and their history also occupy a major share of these ethical-political-cultural traditions.

I said in the Bundestag over 4 years ago that in the Europe of the future, self-determination, human rights, and national sovereignty must occupy first place, not state borders and territory, for it is sovereign peoples, not sovereign states, that will one day complete the construction of Europe.

One of the provisions of the 17 May 1971 Joint Resolution of the German Bundestag conforms completely to this spirit. I quote: "By calling for the right to self-determination, the FRG does not make any territorial claims, nor does it demand an alteration to borders." The right of all nations to self-determination is contained in the UN Charter.

We cannot and do not wish to alter any legal positions. We will adhere to the well-known provisions of our German and Eastern policy, based on national and international law, which also means that we adhere to all parts of the 1970 treaty.

In this treaty, the FRG and Poland confirm, and I quote, "the inviolability of their existing borders now and in the future and commit themselves to mutually respecting their territorial integrity. They declare that they have no territorial claims against each other and will not put forth such claims in the future."

At the same time, both sides state that "this treaty does not affect the bilateral and multilateral agreements previously concluded by both sides or such agreements on the subject of either side." We all know that no peace treaty has been concluded yet.

Because we do not wish to impose a law that is a mere "collection of provisions," we realize our responsibility for peace in Europe and for the success of its inhabitants, as well as our duty to take advantage of every chance of reconciliation.

In the Bundestag I said: "On the other side of the Polish western border, there are Polish families to whom this territory has become their fatherland after two generations. We will respect that and we will not question it."

Yesterday, I said in the Bundestag: "We want to break the vicious circle of hartred and coercion, lawlessness and expulsion, and build new bridgeheads of accord, reconciliation, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation between the Germans and the Poles." Yesterday's Bundestag resolution serves this purpose, Mr Premier.

Mr Premier! We shall also confirm this start of a new chapter in the history of our relations in a visible way. We shall sign a joint statement, a kind of schedule of German-Polish cooperation for the next decades.

In this way we shall express our desire to expand with all due energy our relations in every sphere—political dialogue, economic and financial cooperation, science and technology, cultural exchange, and humanitarian issues.

We will also sign many agreements that will cement our political desire to cooperate in such important spheres as youth exchanges, environmental protection, the establishment of cultural institutes in each other's countries, and protecting and supporting investments.

The agreement on investments is the key to increasing the number of German-Polish joint ventures. It specifies the need for the state to cooperate with private enterprises in order to solve Poland's economic problems.

I hereby appeal to enterprises in both countries: Take advantage of the possibilities provided by the new agreement and of the resources offered by the state! Contribute your technical knowledge and trade experience in order to support Poland in the decisive stage of its reform policy!

Mr Premier! In your introductory Sejm speech on 12 September, you said: "Poland is the home of more than just Poles. We live in this land with representatives of other peoples. We want them to feel at home here, to cultivate their language, and to enrich our society with their culture."

In this way you paved the way to an accord which lay particularly close to our hearts, especially mine. As a result of our agreement, the rights of ethnic minorities, sanctioned in international documents, shall be respected.

Henceforth, individuals and groups of people of Polish or German ancestry who claim an attachment to the language, culture, and traditions of the other country will be able to preserve and develop their cultural identity.

The possibility of hearing religious services in one's own language must be part of this process. Therefore, I appeal to churches to offer divine services in German, and in Germany I appeal to churches to offer services in Polish wherever believers desire them.

Mr Premier! Never since the war has the international situation been so conducive to the breakthrough in our relations as today.

The development of reforms not just in Poland itself, but mainly in the Soviet Union and Hungary, has commenced a period of dynamic changes. The new thinking and the openness toward the inside and the outside are glaring evidence of these reforms even for those who are still procrastinating the reforms and even resisting them.

People in the GDR also expect that the GDR party and state leadership will interpret the signs of the times and carry out thorough changes to the state, economy, and society.

Never since the war have relations between East and West been so constructive. This can be seen most of all in the top-level dialogue between the superpowers and in the considerable progress achieved in disarmament and arms controls.

Europe is moving closer and closer toward a single whole. Governments and nations are once again aware of our continent's historic and cultural identity. They see the future not within tight national borders, but in a peaceful order embracing the whole of Europe. This border will be shaped by these nations themselves, under conditions of free self-determination.

Mr Premier! The European Community is firmly heading toward the great common market of 1992. At the same time, it is offering its hand to its Eastern and southeastern neighbors, because the European Community does not consist of the whole of Europe. Warsaw and Krakow belong to Europe. So do Budapest and Prague, Leipzig and Dresden, Paris, London, Rome, and Bonn.

In all of these developments, Europe-wide responsibility rests on the Germans and Poles. Only with our combined strength can we overcome the division that is still tormenting our continent. We must make our relations so stable and immune to crises and so exemplary and future-orientated that they provide favorable impulses to the whole of Europe and the entire shape of East-West relations.

With a feeling for this responsibility, with confidence and courage, and with our eyes looking to the future, we are entering a new stage of coexistence between our countries and peoples.

We will not reject history, but learn from it. We know that by choosing this road, we are fulfilling the most profound wishes of our peoples to jointly build a better future for growing generations and for our children and grandchildren.

Mr Premier! I raise a toast:

—To your success;

—To the Polish people's successful future;

—To good-neighborliness between our peoples in the heart of Europe.

### Mazowiecki Speaks at Dinner

*AU1311143489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-12 Nov 89 p 2*

[Speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a dinner in honor of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Warsaw on 9 November]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Federal Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen! We are meeting tonight on the first day of your visit to our country. We welcome you with all due hospitality as a distinguished statesman and as head of the FRG Government, attaching to your visit hopes for firm progress in mutual relations between our countries and in today's process of restoring European unity.

We believe that the talks that we have commenced will lead to concrete results, as well as a better understanding of each other and a search for solutions in areas that remain open. We know that you have come with goodwill and with a desire to make an important step forward in coexistence and reconciliation between our peoples.

I also wish to welcome everyone who has come with you, especially Mr Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs; plus all the federal government ministers; high-ranking church representatives; and representatives of the world of culture, economic life, trade unions, and social communities.

Mr Federal Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen! During major political events like your visit to Poland, one is tempted to say too much. On the other hand, however, there is no way to avoid referring to elementary and universal truths.

One of these truths is that history is made by people. If we are to avoid succumbing to its burdens, if we are to believe that a better future is possible, and if we are to be capable of acting for the sake of this future, then we must remember that history is shaped by people, and not by some fatalistic forces that condemn individuals and nations to repeat previous mistakes and commit new ones. This applies also, and perhaps especially, to relations between our peoples.

The history of Polish-German relations goes back 1,000 years. It contains conflicts and armed struggles, which for us meant struggle for our very existence. But it also contains long periods of peaceful coexistence, neighborly cooperation, and a joint creation of the social achievements of our continent. If one talks too little about this, that is because the more favorable part of the Polish-German past has been overshadowed by more recent history, starting with the tragedy of the downfall of the Polish state and its partitions in the 18th century, and ending with the tragedy of World War II. The force and violence stirred up by the Hitlerite Third Reich came to a peak. Poland was the first victim of an armed aggression by Germany, the 50th anniversary of which we observed this year, was partitioned again, and suffered tremendous material and human losses. The intensity of human suffering cannot be expressed in any statistics. In the end, defeat and suffering also befell the German people.

None of this can be erased from historical memory. Let it remain as a warning for future generations. At the same time, it is our intention and task—a mutual one, I think—to cross this shadow once and for all.

I believe that along this road, which is not easy, one can afford to be optimistic. This optimism stems from the fact that we no longer stand in a field littered only with rubble. One cannot overestimate the role played by the message from the Polish bishops to the German bishops in clearing this rubble. Referring to the Christian values that are common to the Germans and Poles and calling for a mutual forgiveness of sins, this message made dialogue possible. On the German side, to, there was no shortage of such endeavors, especially in the Protestant Church, whose 1965 memorandum was proof of a desire to reach an accord with Poland. Catholic circles also displayed such initiative when they produced the Bensberg Circle memorandum. There were also people like this in various political and social camps. It was they, among others, who paved the way to the treaty signed by Poland and the FRG on 7 December 1970. The political forces on both sides who brought about this history have rendered a great historic service. There are not many postwar documents that enjoy such widespread Polish support. The treaty stood and continues to stand above political divisions, for it concerns the most fundamental national interest—the right to live within safe borders that are not questioned by anyone. This consensus stems from the deepest and most painful experiences of our history. He who understands and respects this can also count on understanding in Poland.

## Kohl Interviewed by Daily

*AU1311170089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Nov 89 p 6*

[Interview with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by Janusz Reiter: "Without German-Polish Understanding There Can Be No Prospect of a Europe Without Hatred and Hostility"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Reiter] Chancellor, you come from an area on the German-French border, from that part of Germany that is situated farthest west. What significance did Poland, Germany's eastern neighbor, have for you, what image did you form of that country?

[Kohl] As you know, I come from the Rhineland, an area that was fought over for centuries. That is why I am very keenly aware of how valuable the reconciliation between the Germans and the French is; with the "age-old enemy," as we were told for a long time. Reconciliation is particularly important for those generations that are just growing up. They should never experience hatred and war. Of course, my fatherland also new long periods of peace, when neighboring cultures and traditions influenced and enriched each other.

The Germans and Poles are peoples that live alongside each other in the heart of Europe. They have lived in peace for the greater part of their history. Unfortunately, this is something that many people have forgotten. Nevertheless, Poles and Germans have inflicted deep wounds on each other, especially in their most recent history. The most terrible period in our common history began in 1939, when the barbaric regime that held state and governmental power in Germany at that time started World War II.

The Poles and many other peoples experienced indescribable suffering at the hands of Germans; suffering that was inflicted on behalf of the Germans. There were also many innocent victims among our people. Two million Germans lost their lives as they fled or were expelled. Millions of my countrymen experienced the pain of having lost their fatherland. However, they also know how important it is to learn from the bitter experiences of history and to act in a spirit of peace and mutual respect.

There are many significant examples in history when the Germans and the Poles influenced each other in a way that was mutually beneficial. The November Uprising, which sparked a wave of sympathy and enthusiasm for Poland in Germany, is just one example. Without the revolutionary impetus that came from France, Belgium, and Poland at that time, the Hambacher Fest [German word used] would not have taken place at Hambach, which is in my native Rhineland, in May 1832. Many Polish emigres took part in this first mass demonstration staged by German democratic forces in the name of the ideals of freedom and a Europe of free peoples. It was a time that saw the Polish flag flying alongside the German one!

The free trade union "Solidarity" is part of that glorious tradition. I was always deeply impressed by the Polish people's unshakable desire for freedom and its determination to preserve its national identity, even in the face of what appeared to be hopeless circumstances. This attitude provides an example for the Germans; it gives us encouragement and courage.

[Reiter] The friendship that exists between Germany and France shows that no one is condemned to hatred and conflict, that these can be removed through people's efforts. Can one draw any rather more general conclusions from this? What conditions have to be created in order to produce relations that are so stable?

[Kohl] There are two conditions that have to be satisfied. First, there has to be a common foundation comprising freedom, the rule of law, and democracy. Second, trust has to exist between the leading representatives of the two sides, and the history of the German-French experience provides a valuable illustration of this point. There was trust of this kind between Konrad Adenauer and individuals such as Robert Schuman and Charles de Gaulle.

However, it is important that people meet each other in a spirit of confidence, even of trust, as often as possible. Today German- French friendship is made up of a dense web of personal contacts. They provide the underpinning for official contacts, and that must be our goal in German-Polish friendship.

I am going to your country with the firm intention of establishing cooperation that is as close as possible with Poland too. Over the last few months a lot has been done to lay the groundwork. We have agreed on many treaties and agreements with the Polish Government. Something that I personally attach much importance to are the plans for youth exchanges, which are to provide the younger generations in both countries with an opportunity to get to know each other on a personal level and to exchange experiences. The history of German-French reconciliation teaches how important meetings between young people are despite the existence of borders. The effect of this is that prejudices have no prospect of surviving in the long-term.

Politics can create conditions that will aid the process. Today, it is everyone's job to support this process by way of thoughts and deeds. That is how confidence will grow on both sides. This is also linked to allowing the Germans living in your country to preserve and foster their language, culture, and traditions.

[Reiter] You often say that you consider it to be your job to effect a German-Polish reconciliation in the way that reconciliation with France and Israel was Adenauer's job. What has made you want to attempt this? What difficulties, even obstacles, do you expect to encounter? Do you think that we will be spared discussions about the Odra-Nysa border in the future?

[Kohl] I really do believe that it is my duty to execute Konrad Adenauer's testament. The first German federal chancellor considered reconciliation with France, Israel, and Poland to be the most important task in German foreign policy. The breathtaking events in central and Eastern Europe have strengthened my conviction that the time has come to produce a lasting reconciliation between the German and Polish peoples. It is a task of European dimensions that is comparable with the German-French reconciliation, without which the process leading to the unification of our part of Europe would not exist.

Without Polish-German understanding, even Polish-German friendship, there is no prospect of there being a Europe without walls and barbed wire, without hatred and hostility.

What will matter most in the Europe of the future are self- determination and human rights, national sovereignty, and not, as I said in my Budestag speech 4 years ago, borders or state territory. I also said that the building of Europe will be completed not by sovereign states but by sovereign peoples. That is the spirit in which the Bundestag declaration of 17 May 1972 states: "In calling for the realization of the right to self-determination, the FRG has no claims to make with respect to territory or borders."

The principles of the federal government's policies are clear: We cannot and do not want to alter any legal settlements. The treaty that was signed in Warsaw, which is binding for us without any qualifications, is, of course, part of the foundations of our relations from the angle of the law of the state and international law. The treaty states that neither the FRG nor Poland have any territorial claims with respect to each other, neither today nor in the future. At the same time, both sides state that the treaty does not violate any of the international bilateral or multilateral international agreements concluded by them previously or any such agreements that affect them.

It is a fact that no peace treaty has been concluded thus far.

I also always point out that the territories situated inside Poland's western border are now inhabited by Polish families and these areas have become their home over two generations. We respect this and will not call it into question.

I am convinced that we should now overcome the divisions of the past and look to the future. One cannot separate the question of the German people's freedom from that of the Polish people's freedom. The declaration that Premier Mazowiecki and I will sign will set out the path to a better common future.

[Reiter] The "iron curtain," which is frequently criticized in the West and rightly so, has been removed by some Eastern European countries. What remains is an economic barrier, an "iron curtain" between East and West. Many people in Eastern Europe fear that when the European Community becomes a single economic organism in 1992 they will be left out like poor relatives.

[Kohl] I understand the fears on the part of our neighbors, but they are completely without foundation. The European Community is a union of democratic countries that is exercising a stronger influence on our continent than at any other time in the past by virtue of being politically and economically attractive. It was, is, and will remain open to other countries. The original community of six has turned into a community of twelve.

An agreement on trade and cooperation was signed with Poland in September. I am convinced that that is just a beginning. In addition, the European Community was quick to make concrete decisions aimed at supporting the reforms in Poland.

We resolutely support the process of uniting Europe in the free part of our continent. We are aware that the European Community is not all of Europe. The West cannot be allowed to forget that Europe also includes Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, Rostock, Leipzig, and Dresden.

However, the European Community is a catalyst for a growing Europe of freedom. It is a beginning. It must be open to other countries that are guided by the principles of freedom and democracy. The European Community is not a European "fortress," not in economic terms nor in terms of the states that belong to it. Of course, this also applies to the common European market that will come into being in 1992.

[Reiter] Much is changing in European politics. Has the German problem become a topical issue once again? What do you understand by a "European solution to the German problem"?

[Kohl] The reforms that we are witnessing today primarily in Poland and in Hungary, but in the Soviet Union as well, represent the return of these peoples to the great European traditions. I hope very much that fundamental changes will also take place in the GDR now. Freedom, self-determination, and human rights are finally establishing themselves. There is a growing desire to overcome the divisions on our continent almost everywhere in Europe.

What divides Europe also divides my fatherland. If the principle of self-determination triumphs everywhere in Europe, then the Germans cannot be left out.

We in Germany feel solidarity with the Polish people, whose desire for freedom we have always admired. The reverse is also true. The Poles undoubtedly understand why we maintain the injunction contained in our Constitution that reads "to realize the unity and freedom of Germany by way of free self-determination."

Our Constitution also obliges us to strive for a united Europe. In this sense our national problem is closely connected with the fate of Europe as a whole. Konrad Adenauer once expressed it this way: "a free and united Germany in a free and united Europe."

## Receives Honorary Doctorate

*AU1411111589 Frankfurt/Main*
*FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Nov 89 p 1*

["Dt" report: "Kohl Invites Poles to Participate in the Shaping of Europe"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 13 November—In Poland, too, the events at the intra-German border have overshadowed the chancellor's visit. Even though many newspapers carried the picture of the two heads of government Kohl and Mazowiecki, who embraced as a sign of reconciliation during the Sunday service in Kreisau [Krzyzowa], the main topic of the editorials was the "collapse" of the Berlin Wall.

On Monday [13 November] Kohl received the honorary doctorate of the Catholic University of Lublin. The Catholic University of Lublin is the only private university east of the Elbe River. It has been in existence for 71 years and is financed by the Catholic Church and a circle of 350,000 members. In the afternoon Kohl met with the chairmen of the two chambers of parliament and with Communist Party chief Rakowski.

Understanding and reconciliation correspond to the desire of our peoples, Kohl said when he was awarded the honorary doctorate. "Why should that which is possible, even a matter of course, today between young Germans and young Frenchmen not soon be possible between young Poles and Germans." Kohl paid tribute to the liberal traditions of Poland and to the reforms in the Soviet Union and Hungary as pioneers of "the new start in the GDR." A policy, which is aimed at the division of nations, has no future. "However, the claim that it is only the Germans' business whether and how they decide on their fate freely, whether they pursue their path with our against their neighbors, would be unhistorical and incredible." The FRG has linked its national fate inseparably with that of Europe, "and with this I mean not only the EC but all of Europe," Kohl said. With this he linked "the cordial invitation to the Poles to participate in shaping the Europe of tomorrow."

This Tuesday Kohl and Mazowiecki will sign the "Joint Statement," which demonstrates the further development of the German-Polish relations after years of negotiations. [passage omitted]

### PAP Report on Degree

*LD1311124489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] [Reporter] A few minutes before 1000, in front of the Catholic University of Lublin [KUL] building, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl was greeted by representatives of the university authorities together with the rector, Father Prof Dr (Stanislaw Wielgus). [passage omitted]

This event was not in the program for Helmut Kohl's visit to Lublin. The chancellor crossed the street and greeted the gathered inhabitants of Lublin. [passage omitted]

He returned in order to, along with the university authorities, lay a bunch of red and white carnations at the monument of Cardinal Wyszynski. At 1000 the ceremony granted an honorary doctorate to Chancellor Helmut Kohl began in the university hall. The patron is the dean of the School of Socialist Studies, Father Prof Dr Joachim Kondziela. The rector of KUL, Father Prof Dr (Stanisaw Wielgus):

[Begin recording] Chancellor Kohl is receiving an honorary doctorate both for his personal achievements and his own moral stance. He is receiving an honorary doctorate from KUL also as a symbol of the FRG, which in recent years has very successfully helped Polish society, especially during the period of martial law, and our university as well. Apart from that, Chancellor Kohl is implementing a very important idea, to which inspiration was once given by John Paul II, the idea of reconciliation between all European nations. As a Catholic university we are interested as much as possible in such a reconciliation, especially a reconciliation between Germans and Poles, a reconciliation that was in its time commenced by the Polish Episcopate, especially Cardinal Wyszynski. [end recording]

### Hosts Reception for Mazowiecki

*LD1311220589 Warsaw PAP in English 2058 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave a reception in honour of Premier Mazowiecki at the Marriott Hotel here this evening.

During the reception both heads of government delivered speeches in which they presented first assessments of the visit which is nearing its end. They thought the visit to be a breakthrough moment in the relations between Poland and the FRG and expressed a will to develop the cooperation between both states with the view to building a new Europe.

### Speaks at Catholic University

*LD1311215589 Warsaw PAP in English 1759 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Lublin, Nov 13—In an address at the Catholic University of Lublin, Chancellor Helmut Kohl said among other things:

Spiritual and cultural bonds linking Germans and Poles are much tighter than many would realize. In many respects the Catholic University of Lublin created a lasting and imposing chapter in the history of these contacts. However, our nations are tied not only in spiritual and cultural terms. We are also linked by a common history in the course of which—as neighbours in the heart of Europe—we lived together in peace throughout centuries.

However, the most modern history was marked by war, bloodshed and cruel crime. Fifty years ago national-socialist oppressors, by attacking Poland, unleashed the Second World War. As a result, an immense harm was done to the Polish people in the name of Germany and at the hands of Germans. The truth is also that more than two million Germans lost their lives after the war during their flight and expulsion and numerous Germans suffered terribly. The loss of homeland left many of my compatriots deeply hurt.

Even so, we, Germans and Poles, should not be suppressed by the burden of the past.

We seek agreement and reconciliation between the German nation and the Polish nation. This is our historic task and also the wish, even desire, of people in our countries. Fortunately enough, both nations produced men and women who came to understand in time that the vicious circle of lawlessness, revenge and violence must at last be broken.

I feel personally obliged to contribute to the cause of reconciliation between our nations.

And so, in the favourable spirit of all talks I had an opportunity to hold in Warsaw, in the newly-created mutual understanding, by signatures put by Prime Minister Mazowiecki and myself under a joint statement, an important, big step is being made in relations between our countries and nations.

By a common mass in which we took part in Krzyzowa yesterday—in a place which became the symbol of Germans' resistance to tyranny—we gave an expression of the will to shape the future in jointly-shared freedom. We now have a timetable of cooperation reaching far into the future. On many occasions yesterday we contributed to showing both nations the way to reconciliation.

Europe, and even the whole world, are looking with fascination at Poland today. 200 years after the French revolution, the idea of freedom and human rights again determines—once and for all, as we all hope, the life of people in your country. As it was recently put by Prime Minister Mazowiecki, Poland is coming back to its Christian and pan-European roots. This is not only a Polish, but also a pan-European event which gives rise to new hope for all nations on our continent and at the same time outlines the direction for all Europeans.

Today, this upsurge starts to embrace the GDR as well. Could it be otherwise anyway—at a time when the wind of freedom is raging through Europe. With emotion and deep gratitude we acknowledge that outstanding Poles are the first among those who in an obvious way support the demands of freedom and the right of self-determination also for Germans in the GDR. I want to thank them for their open and audacious word for the sake of freedom.

And indeed, it is the Polish nation which, despite all divisions and oppression throughout centuries, preserved its national, spiritual, and cultural unity, understands like no other that an historically shaped unity of a nation cannot be broken up in an artificial way, that a policy aimed at dividing nations is anti-historical and even for this reason implausible, and it will never have any future.

It would be anti-historical and implausible to claim that it is an affair of Germans alone, whether and how they can freely decide about their fate, whether they may proceed along their own road together with their neighbours or against their will.

The truth is that we Germans, as a people living in the heart of Europe, know today that this question—and our answer to it—is not something to which our neighbours in East and West are indifferent. The reply to this question on the part of Germans from the Federal Republic of Germany has fit since the start in the European frame, and it will remain so in the future.

Our fundamental law is proof that we have overcome the manner of thinking in the classical categories of a national state. It empowers us to transfer the right of sovereignty onto supra- national structures.

The next great step of ours is to materialize a common European market by the end of 1992. But we cannot stop there. We aim at creating a European union—the United States of Europe.

In the face of this dynamic evolution we incessantly took note of the fact that the European Community is not all Europe, that Warsaw, Moscow, Prague, Budapest and Vienna belong to Europe just like Brussels, London, Paris or Rome—and obviously, also Berlin. Therefore, what we have in view is to build one Europe, a Europe in which borders do not divide but are overcome.

However, we should not be content with initial successes. What matters now is that the European Community, by its creativity and flexibility of action, should come closer to those countries of central and eastern Europe which started a thorough restructuring in the political, economic and social sphere.

One of the first unification acts in postwar Europe was the formation of the Council of Europe. It became a symbol of a spiritual unity of Europe and contributed first of all to the observance of human rights.

That is why I welcome with special satisfaction the fact that since mid-year now Parliament deputies from Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have had a special guest status at meetings of the consultative assembly of the Council of Europe. It would be good for Europe if this were changed as soon as possible into a full membership.

This European principle of German policy I spoke about I also perceive as a cordial invitation for Poles to co-shape a Europe of the future. The door is open wide. Europe needs understanding and reconciliation of our nations. A Europe without Poland is incomplete and inconceivable. Europe needs a free Poland, it needs a free Germany—a jointly shared freedom of our nations.

### Visit Invitations Issued

*LD1411105989 Hamburg DPA in German 1044 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Polish State President Wojciech Jaruzelski has invited Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker to pay a state visit to Poland. At the end of his official visit to Poland, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on Tuesday at the same time invited Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to pay a return visit to the Federal Republic next year.

The German-Polish joint statement says that both sides intend to continue the now resumed dialogue at the highest political level.

### Skubiszewski Previews Upcoming Kohl Visit

*AU1311130289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 89 p 2*

[Interview with Krzysztof Skubiszewski, minister of foreign affairs, by PAP: "An Opportunity to Turn a New Page"—date and place not given]

[Text] In an interview given for PAP, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, foreign affairs minister, said, among other things, the following:

The visit of Dr Helmut Kohl, the FRG Chancellor, is a political event of the highest importance in the relations between our two countries. The visit has been very carefully prepared. One only needs to recall that negotiations concerning various matters lasted for almost 2 years.

The forecast for the future is optimistic. Chancellor Kohl's visit creates the opportunity to turn a new page in our mutual relations and it opens up the possibility of accelerated development, building of confidence, and of partnership and cooperation.

I hope that this visit will produce a good result for our mutual relationship, contribute to Polish-German agreement, and in due course, lead to Polish-German reconciliation.

Polish public opinion has been widely informed about the preparations for this visit. Minister Jacek Ambroziak had a lengthy interview on this matter in TRYBUNA LUDU. There have also been many commentaries and articles in the press.

It is quite natural that the concrete details of this important visit will be made public during the course of the visit itself. The accepted custom is not to run ahead of events.

Today, I can state that the joint declaration made by the respective heads of government of our two countries, and the numerous agreements which have been prepared, lie in our mutual interest, and—without forgetting about the past—are looking to the future. All this heralds a successive stage of our mutual relations.

## Mazowiecki Meets FRG Businessmen 9 Nov

*LD1011021789 Warsaw PAP in English 2354 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—"I hope that the visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and persons accompanying him will open up a new chapter of economic cooperation between Poland and the FRG. I realize that we need help but this help should be transformed into close cooperation," Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki told several dozen FRG industrialists, tradesmen and bankers.

"The transition from a planned economy to a market one is a road that has not been covered by anyone," he said.

"The current visit by Chancellor Kohl focuses to a large extent on economic issues, both on aid and on consolidation of mutual relations. The success of intergoverenmental settlements depends, however, on how they will be filled with concrete content. Hence the importance of today's meeting with representatives of economic circles. I encourage all those present to hold concrete talks with Polish partners," Mazowiecki stated.

## Foreign Minister on German Reunification, Relations

*AU1311134289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 13 Nov 89 p 12*

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski by Ulrich Schmidla: "Reunification Acceptable Only Within Existing Borders"; date and place not given]

[Text] DIE WELT: Will the different interpretations of the Warsaw Treaty cease with Kohl's visit?

Skubiszewski: There are always different interpretations. And I do not think that these can be eliminated in the joint statement by the two heads of government. However, these differences are not an obstacle to cooperation. There is some progress. We have the latest resolution of the German Bundestag, which follows Genscher's statement in New York that the life of the Poles within secure borders will not be called into question by the Germans in the future, either. For me the important word is future. Because the FRG is loyal to its international obligations, but it says that the future united German state will not be bound by these agreements. I see this differently. If two states unite, then they always unite within existing borders. Therefore, it is unacceptable for me to broach the question of the borders in connection with the problem of the reunification of Germany. These are two different things. And for many Poles Germany's reunification would be a problem, if it were to make the Polish borders insecure. We respect the Germans' right to self-determination, but within the framework of the existing borders, which are part of the European order.

DIE WELT: A reunited Germany within the borders of the FRG and the GDR would be acceptable?

Skubiszewski: It would be acceptable, but the matter is complicated, because, first, there is the German right to self- determination. Second, there is the responsibility of the big powers, the former occupation powers, for Germany as a whole—a relic of the war. Reunification cannot be carried out against the will of these four powers. Other arguments than the right to self- determination play a role here, because the big powers have their own views in this question.

DIE WELT: Would you assess the Germans' right to self-determination and the agreement of the big powers to reunification equally or are there priorities?

Skubiszewski: This is difficult to say. Priorities depend on the circumstances. One has to take the different times into consideration. In one period there are certain priorities, in another one there are others.

DIE WELT: ...and in the current period?

Skubiszewski: In my view, the responsibility of the big powers is important in the current period. Let us take Berlin as an example. In the Berlin question the responsibility of the victorious powers plays an important role. And if it plays an important role there, why should it not also play a role in the problem of reunification? But there is still item number three: The reunification of Germany is a European question now. And there the priorities—right to self-determination or European question—are very difficult to define. Whether a new big power develops in the heart of Europe—because a reunited Germany is a big power—is a question for all of Europe and, in particular, for Germany's neighbors. We understand German goals very well. But we want a good German neighbor, who does not call our borders into question. We lost big territories in the East. This was due to the big powers, who said in Yalta that the borders of Poland should be set down in this and that way. Poland was not present in Yalta. The situation which developed after the war cannot be changed now under any circumstances. We accept this situation. The entire Polish nation supports the Oder-Neisse border.

DIE WELT: So does the overwhelming majority of the Germans....

Skubiszewski: I am pleased to hear this. But there are also some politicians in your country who make our relations chaotic. This border question should not exit in our relations.

DIE WELT: Should Chancellor Kohl oppose these politicians more strongly?

Skubiszewski: Perhaps, because this is also a question for every chancellor. We are shown the reconciliation between Germany and France. Okay. But this reconciliation was carried out on the basis of a settlement of the borders. There is no discussion about the German-French border. Thus, the German-Polish reconciliation also needs a very clear position on the border question.

DIE WELT: Is the Bundestag resolution of Wednesday [8 November] sufficient for this?

Skubiszewski: I welcome the latest statement by the Bundestag. It is an important step. But then there are other politicians who say that there is still the problem of the peace treaty and there is still the problem of the borders of 1937. Therefore, I say that a clear position would be necessary. And in the FRG legislation, in administrative files there is also this opinion about the ongoing existence of the borders of 1937. This does not make our relations easier. We should forget 1937 now. We should consider the current border as a guide, also in the case of a reunification of Germany.

## WOCHENPRESSE Interview With Skubiszewski

*AU1011234189 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 10 Nov 89 pp 40-41*

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krysztof Skubiszewski by Lucian O. Meysels on 7 November: "We Were Also Divided"—place not given]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: There have been weeks of chaotic conditions in your neighboring country, the GDR. Hundreds of thousands have demonstrated, tens of thousands are fleeing. Is this worrying you?

Skubiszewski: The current situation in the GDR itself is not worrying me. Quite the contrary, I see chances for reform, and I am glad about it. Both, as far as the German people are concerned, who hope for better conditions, and as far as our relations with the GDR are concerned, because we in Poland want to work in peace and newly organzie our life—without any pressure from outside. The Honecker government voiced—to say the least—certain concern regarding the developments in Poland.

WOCHENPRESSE: If the demonstrations were to continue, is it conceivable that a Tienanmen massacre takes place in Alexander Square (in East Berlin)?

Skubiszewski: Not today, on 7 November. However, one can never say what else might be possible with this regime. Nevertheless, I do not believe that this could happen. Things have already gone too far and there is no fear of developments similar to those in China.

WOCHENPRESSE: If, in the best of all cases, a pluralist society is established in the GDR, is there not a possibility that the state might dissolve itself? In Poland the nation as such was never challenged, even when there was no Polish state.

Skubiszewski: You are absolutely right. We have always been a nation, even when our state was divided into three parts. As far as the GDR is concerned, the situation is different. There, the question of national identity is a problem: There is a state that evolved from a regime of occupiers, and whose neighbor is a state that also emerged from zones of occupation. The border between these two states has a short history; nevertheless, it has existed for 45 years, which is something.

WOCHENPRESSE: Now I would like to ask you the crucial question: What does Poland think of the possibility of reunification?

Skubiszewski: Well, this is really a problem, but not only for us, but for all of Europe. Particularly for those states that share borders with one Germany or the other. Thus, the problem exists for both Poland and Austria. The creation of a new major power in Europe would have an impact on the entire continent. After all, a reunited Germany would be a major power. This is the first argument.

WOCHENPRESSE: And the second....

Skubiszewski: That is the special responsibiity of the four former occupying powers, thus even of the USSR. The USSR is a state that does not very often mention this shared responsibility, but it keeps up this responsibility. Therefore, the Western powers would have to reach an agreement with the USSR if they want reunification.

WOCHENPRESSE: Is this what they really want?

Skubiszewski: I have the impression that they do not want reunification. Of course, they do not say that in public. Yet when one talks to politicians in France, England, or the United States, the reservations are clearly voiced. Then there is my third argument: The right to self-determination of the German nation, of the German people. I do not deny this, but one must perceive this right from the angle of a major European power. Thus, it is not a simple right without any restrictions. This may be hard for the Germans, maybe it is not. Nevertheless, they are simply not completely free to exercise this right—as a result of a lost war. Of course, the Germans are asking why African nations can freely exercise this right to self-determination while they cannot. Well, in central Europe the situation is different.

WOCHENPRESSE: Recently, there have been voices in the FRG that one must not overestimate, but that question the legal validity of Poland's western border. Do you expect that Chancellor Kohl will confirm this border during his visit to Poland?

Skubiszewski: The chancellor will certainly confirm his support for the 1970 Warsaw Treaty. Anyway—are you a legal expert?

WOCHENPRESSE: No, I am a historian.

Skubiszewski: There you are, the historian says that sometimes treaties must be confirmed. I am a jurist. My opinion is: Pacta sunt servanda (treaties must be observed). I only hope that the FRG chancellor will go further in interpreting the Warsaw Treaty, wherever there are differences.

WOCHENPRESSE: Yet this has actually nothing to do with reunification?

Skubiszewski: For us reunification is only acceptable if it means reunification within the present borders. Any talks of the borders of 1937 certainly do not help.

WOCHENPRESSE: Does not everything depend on the success or failure of Gorbachev?

Skubiszewski: Of course it does.

WOCHENPRESSE: How do you assess his chances?

Skubiszewski: It is difficult to say what would happen in the USSR if Gorbachev were to fall. However, even in that case I believe that there is always something that remains. Just think of the ups and downs in the history of Solidarity. The movement was banned during martial law. Its leaders were put in prison, and the party said that Walesa was nothing but a private person. And today? These people do not exactly appear to be very clever.

WOCHENPRESSE: There have been enormous changes in the Polish economic and domestic policy. However, what about foreign policy? Is there continuity?

Skubiszewski: There is certainly a degree of continuity, because we stay in the Warsaw Pact. However, we want to give this pact another character. I regard the Warsaw Pact as nothing but an alliance, a defensive alliance, and not an instrument for intervening in other states, as happened in Hungary in 1956, and the CSSR in 1968. In 1980/81 similar developments were in the air in Poland. Fortunately these did not materialize. I would like to add one more thing: I have lived under communism since 1944, and this is actually a bit too long. Still, there are phenomena in this system that I still do not fully understand.

## Commentator on Future of East, West Germany

*LD1011211589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 10 Nov 89*

[Boleslaw Broszczak commentary]

[Text] What now? This question preys on the minds of not only the Germans in both states but also all of Europe. One thing is certain: We will soon be witnessing close collaboration between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This is how this is seen by Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party.

Immediately after being elected premier by the People's Chamber, Hans Modrow, advocate of reforms in the GDR, met Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The former presented a program of concrete steps leading toward democratization, and first and foremost toward free elections; the latter offered economic, financial, and other aid. For the time being these are just plans and proposals. We will have to wait and see what happens in reality. One thing is certain. There have to be reforms in the GDR—extensive and effective reforms.

Cardinal Joachim Meisner, archbishop of Cologne and until recently the bishop of East Berlin, who is one of the most knowledgeable men as far as German affairs are concerned, has said: Transformations in the GDR have to amount not to a change of persons in leading offices, but to an introduction of such a system that would satisfy the will of the people. One could hardly find a better commentary.

## Majority Positively Assess Mazowiecki's Government

*LD1411121489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 14 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] The Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] of Polish Radio and TV—A few days ago it was 2 months since Tadeusz Mazowiecki formed his government. The work of the new cabinet is being observed with great interest, primarily in Poland. Recently the OBOP gathered views that evaluated the work of the government, attitudes toward strikes, and the material situation of the population.

What was the result? As many as 73 percent of those polled positively evaluated the first weeks of work by the government. Only 9 percent negatively view the activities of the new government. Despite the fact that the material conditions of life are much worse than 1 year ago, four out of five Poles oppose strike actions. It is appropriate to draw attention to the radical change that has taken place in this respect since the new political forces came to power. Just 1 year ago these same people were for strikes.

Returning to the material situation, 7 percent of respondents evaluate their own situation as good, 53 as bearable, whereas 40 percent deem it bad. The near future also apears to Poles in none too rosy colors: three-fourths believe that in the coming year the situation will deteriorate or, in the best case, will be the same. The latest OBOP poll shows that most Poles believe in the intentions and comptenence of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. [passage omitted]

## TRYBUNA LUDU on Economic Situation

*AU1011094989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 89 p 2*

[Commentary signed 'wodz': "The Economy—Prior to Collapse"]

[Text] My darkest forecasts concerning mining, made during the "roundtable" talks, have come true. At its 2 November meeting, the Council of Ministers Economic Committee [KERM] admitted that we will extract 13.5 million tonnes less coal this year. Yet coal means everything—energy, industrial output, and exports. Converting this to dollars, it means a loss of at least $540 million. Given the size of our state treasury, this is an enormous sum. Mining "reforms," aimed at bringing it under the control of a different government, are now turning against their very creators and against society itself.

However, coal is just the tip of the iceberg. Its base consists of machines that are running increasingly slowly in those factories where there is a shortage of components, parts, and raw materials from the East and from the West. Our CEMA partners are reluctant to give us credits because our unpaid debts amount to R6 billion, on top of which our trade this year, involving coal, machines, and consumer goods, has reached a negative balance of R900 million. Unless our exports to CEMA get off the ground, production in factories will certainly not be reanimated.

Production is falling drastically and inflation is growing, and yet we have not even begun to implement the "Balcerowicz Plan," which calls for—a further fall in production. But the PAP report on the subject of the KERM meeting says that the reason behind this state of affairs was discovered, namely state enterprises, which are alleged to have achieved between January and October net profits twice as high as during the same period last year, even though their income from sales was only 8 percent higher. The reason for this increase in profits is that the greater the profits, the lower the overall tax rate imposed on them.

I do not know where people get the idea that enterprises are in excellent condition if labor costs and the prices of raw materials have risen several fold since 1988. People forget that a considerable part of industry is unprofitable and has run into arrears with the payment of tax and repayment of debts. Sometimes, an enterprise goes into debt only when the government is late with providing it with money. That is the case with building enterprises that are working on national projects.

The financial figures and experience of enterprises are varied. The Supreme Chamber of Control has revealed that between January and October, the tax imposed on state firms increased by 300 percent, whereas the tax imposed on the private sector increased by only 175 percent. So what is the use of all the declarations about the equality of sectors and state intervention in economic processes? Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk, who owns a private firm, has suggested the following cure to state industry: A severe economic recession in order to eliminate inefficient firms, followed by a stream of funds to those that survive. This idea was supported by Minister Aleksander Paszynski, who is chairman of the "Murator" cooperative and joint owner of the "Agora" company.

This solution is questionable because we know of efficient and inefficient firms that are achieving quite good financial results. It has also been suggested that entire factories and branches of industry be closed down. However, KERM did not say what would fill the resultant gaps. All it said is that there will be no manual control over industry. Is that the way to fill empty shop shelves and set exports in motion? Experts are supposed to decide how to distribute coal. Will it be distributed equally to the population, industry, and exports, or will someone enjoy privileged supplies?

In the meantime, production is falling, inflation is rising, society's impatience is growing, and some members of the authorities are still looking for magicians instead of undertaking any activity to stop these bad processes.

## Warsaw Tractor Works Threatens Strike 13 Nov

*LD0811184189 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 8—The "Solidarnosc" factory commission at the Ursus tractor works in Warsaw has announced strike alert.

As PAP learned from press spokesman of the commission Grzegorz Kostrzewa, the strike alert is not of a political nature nor for higher wages. There is one postulate, to lift price ceilings for the produced tractors.

The administrative maintenance of prices for tractors tips the balance between the costs of production and the selling price. A situation in which the wages of the crew—with soaring food prices—depend on artificially maintaining tractor prices, Kostrzewa stated.

Letters on introducing real prices for tractors sent two weeks ago to ministers Balcerowicz and Syryjczyk remain unanswered. If the said postulate is not met by November 13, strike action will begin between 10-12 a.m.

## Minister Janicki Cited on Grain Purchases

*LD0811231889 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1923 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 8: I do not expect an "avalanche" of grain but I am hoping for big procurements, stated Vice Premier, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy Czeslaw Janicki referring to the so-called grain loan, at a press conference here today.

He rebuffed the accusation that the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki was "antipeasant," adding however that there still was too little understanding among members of the Cabinet for the need to back agriculture and ensure it of means of production. "That is why I am convincing other members of the government in this respect," Janicki stated.

The vice premier did not exclude the possibility of a reprivatization of some state-run farms. Nonetheless, the procedure of such an operation, for instance the sale of shares to their employees and the like, will be determined by the future law on reprivatization.

Everyone must eat, but not everyone is aware that the 45 years of postwar Poland has in most cases had a negative impact on agriculture. Meanwhile, it should become a significant Polish reason of state because as a country we have all the necessary conditions for this to happen: there is 0.5 hectares of arable land per every citizen, we have farming traditions.

Hence, today one must create conditions of effective development for this branch of the national economy. Agriculture requires more means of production. For example, the supply of tractors covers only 65 percent of the needs, only 4 percent of industry [words indistinct] produces for agriculture. This is the reason why one Polish farmer is capable of feeding barely three people.

The key direction of the government's work is to bring about a significant increase in the share of foreign capital and cooperation with Polish agriculture. Tax breaks are also envisaged for enterprises switching over agriculture-related production.

Market laws are beginning to take effect in foodstuffs trade. The prices of some of them are falling. A draft has been worked out at the ministry of agriculture of introducing minimal procurement prices with a view to protecting the interests of producers.

Avoiding speaking out on the results of the grain loan, the vice premier expressed hope that it would allow for a nearly total resignation of imports of grain. He described it as mutually beneficial for the state and producers.

Speaking about the current activities of the ministry, Janicki mentioned efforts to obtain hard currency needed to purchase plant protection agents and fodder protein concentrates. Their lack would stall animal production which has been growing of late, providing a chance of filling up so-called state reserves which as concerns meat currently total 20 percent.

Asked what countries are interested in investing in Polish agriculture, the vice premier stated that negotiations were under way with Italian companies, such as Fiat, as well as West German ones. Some companies from Austria, Sweden and Denmark want to donate used farming machines to Poland. The fund which would be created from the sale of these machines by the Polish government to Polish farmers would be earmarked for the development of agriculture.

Minister Janicki also announced a top-level reshuffle in the Ministry of Agriculture.

## Daily Examines Future of PZPR, Changes To Come

*AU0711155389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU*
*in Polish 2 Nov 89 p 4*

[Jozef Lipiec article: "A New Party—But What Kind?"]

[Excerpts] The end of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] is inevitable. Judging from what its members are saying, present moods, and the political platforms that have appeared, there is no doubt that the 11th Congress will be the last congress of the old party and the first congress of a new one. But what kind of party, and whose?

I am pleased by the increasing political animation, especially by the emergence of an authentic programmatic movement or, to be more precise, several national and local movements that are presenting their own stances and concepts. However, I am a little worried by the fact that not everyone understands all the important issues that are at stake, and one fails to draw the right conclusions on the basis of one's own experience. I am not in favor of any unity decreed from above, nor of a unanimity of views in every single matter. If we are supposed to build a new party, there must not be any misunderstandings. After all, some kind of decisions have to be taken. So let these decisions be the most honest and intelligent ones possible.

One should look at a transformation of the PZPR in two ways. Either the PZPR will be a gathering of the same people as today, people who genuinely want change, or it will be a completely new political structure capable of living in the future, in other words a party that is geared to the young generation. This is not an artificial concept. The answer to this question will determine the new party's countenance and social acceptance.

The PZPR is growing very old. It has a history of various deeds, committed by the party as a whole and, unfortunately, by individual members. Some of these deeds bring various thoughts to mind. However, the new party's reception by the adult portion of society is not so important because that part of society will contain around 1 million members of the old PZPR, some of whom might even want to join the new party. More important is the way in which the new party is received by the young generation. Therefore, the new party is more than just a question of a proper program and the right leaders. It is a question of a proper attitude toward the young generation, and the gaining of their trust.

If we ask about the social base of the future party, the reply is that this social base is provided by most of society, in other words people who live off the fruits of their own work. But this must be obvious to all citizens. An opening up to society, especially toward the young generation, is a major political problem. This openness must be defined by the party program itself (which must extol work, modernity, justice, and progress), and must also be expressed in the party statute. In addition, there must be a clear renouncing of the evil and errors of the past. Finally, there must be a genuine change in practices, and the adoption of language that is clearly comprehensible.

The new party must also make itself credible by selecting new, trustworthy leaders at national and local level. Fortunately, the PZPR has a rich supply of such personnel; after all, these people started the political changes and implemented them successfully at various levels of the present structures, taking advantage of the newly-emerged platforms. Without all these operations, the "change of guard" will be a mere continuation of the old ways, representing a reward for services rendered in the past. The political chance for changes will be thwarted right at the start, preventing the entire left wing from contributing effective activity.

Finally, there is the question of a new name for the party. Two years ago, when talks on this subject began among various circles, I suggested the name "Socialist Party of Poland." I consider this to be the most appropriate and most elegant name in many respects. It is a novel name. It refers to traditions and at the same time preserves two important concepts—Polishness and socialism.

However, one hears more and more suggestions for a new name, not all of which I approve of, for linguistic reasons. One such suggestion is "Polish Socialist Left-Wing Party." Is there such a thing as a nonsocialist left wing, or has anyone heard of socialists not being left wingers? Another suggestion is "Polish Working People's Party." However, arguments about a new name for the party are not the most important matter right now, and in any case only the founding congress of the new party can decide on a name. Nevertheless, the names presently suggested do illustrate the philosophy behind a new program. I have in mind a more neutral name, "Polish Progress Party," which refers to the universal values of progress, and suggests a national character for the party and a bias toward modernity.

The problem of a new name for the party, as well as the contents of the new program and statute, should be viewed in a broader context. We are entering a new stage, involving new institutional solutions. Therefore the point is that the new party—socialist party, working people's party, or progress party—should have the best possible chance of attaining a suitable political position in the state, and that its future members may adopt social activity that corresponds to needs and expectations. The point is also that honest activity by the new party should have every chance of being objectively assessed by society, and should permit direct and indirect involvement in the party's work, both in a democratic political struggle, and in coalition-like cooperation with other political groups.

## PZPR's Rakowski Answers Readers' Letters

*AU0711151189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Nov 89 pp 1, 2*

[Zenon Kulej report: "Letters to the Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Have the latest political changes affected the number and content of letters sent by citizens to the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]? Of course they have. The Central Committee is still receiving 50-60 letters a day. There are fewer letters asking for intervention in such matters as housing and the distribution of farming equipment, and more letters expressing political and economic opinion.

This shift in the content of letters is only one of the changes noted by the PZPR Central Committee's Commission of Complaints, Proposals, and Reports from the Public. [passage omitted]

Some letters are answered personally by members of the Polish leadership. Here are excerpts from a few letters to M.F. Rakowski, with his replies:

Antoni F. from Bestwina: You said on television on 13 September that one must not look back. I cannot agree with that.

M.F. Rakowski: Well, everyone is entitled to his own opinion. One of your chief complains is about the expression "we must not look back" which I used.

I am going to use this expression on more than one occasion. Of course, I do not mean we should cut ourselves off from our traditions and from the roots of our system. I mean we should think of the future. I meant that we should stop fighting old battles. Your suggestions concerning the preparations for the congress will be meaningless unless we stop living in the past.

Helena D. from Warsaw: I think it is wrong to rent out space in the Central Committee building and local party committee buildings to companies and enterprises (...) These buildings are not the property of committees, they are the property of party members. The Central Committee building was built by the entire party. I belong to the generation that paid for this "common house." I think the opinion of party members should have been sought beforehand.

M.F. Rakowski: Thank you for your letter (...) It is true that we are reducing the size of the central party apparatus, as a result of which we have vacant space in our buildings. But we will fill it with various party institutions, which until now have been renting accommodation in the city. That costs money, of course.

Miroslaw M. from Bydgoszcz: I am pleased that the Politburo contains many young people with clear heads, and that many of those who should have left the Politburo ages ago have already done so. I hope the same thing happens to voivodship party cells. (...) People in Bydgoszcz hope that Comrade Zemke, whom we elected Sejm deputy, becomes first secretary of the voivodship party committee. As a well-known and distinguished resident of Bydgoszcz, enjoying broad support from the inhabitants of the region, he is the only one capable of leading our voivodship party organization out of its stagnation.

M. F. Rakowski: Thank you for the very pleasant letter. I certainly need kindness and moral support. I know that you provide me with both, for which I am very grateful. Very hard times are in store for me, but one could see them coming. Well, you already have Zemke!

## Party Academic Rejects Capitalism's Restoration

*AU0811081189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Nov 89 p 3*

[Article by Boleslaw Przywara, lecturer and director at the Socioeconomic Policy Institute of the Polish United Workers Party Academy of Social Sciences]

[Excerpts] A liberal policy that seeks to revive capitalist relations is gaining in strength in our country. It is being declared that a private and capitalist system has to be allowed into our economy with its many sectors, and calls for the privatization of state property are being heard. The aim of this is to make private ownership the key element in the structure of ownership. It is asserted that only this kind of ownership structure will lead to the emergence of what are made out to be the only possible conditions under which an economy can operate normally in the civilized world.

The government's economic program is first and foremost a program of institutional change that is treated as providing the only way out of the crisis.

This is already indicated in the first words of the program, which read: "The Polish economy requires fundamental institutional changes. The aim of these changes is to construct a market system that approximates to the one that exists in the highly developed countries."

To avoid misunderstandings among the public, it would be a good thing if the above thought were to be formulated more clearly, if it were simply said that the system in question is that of a capitalist economy. The economies that exist in highly developed countries do not belong to an institutional system that has not been defined. [passage omitted]

It highly unlikely that we would join the leading group of capitalist countries with the present arrangement of the forces of capital, even if the political climate were favorable, because what lies in the interest of capital will always be the decisive element. There is no basis for believing that capital will change its characters especially for Poland.

If we embark on this path, what lies ahead of us is a period of rapacious nineteenth century capitalism with all the wealth associated with primitive accumulation, an enormous degree of poverty, and high unemployment. Even at this early stage it is being projected that unemployment will amount to about 30 percent of the current level of those in employment. Even if we are so taken with the leading group of capitalist countries, it should be pointed out that unemployment there is 6 to 7 times lower than our projected level. The creation of "we will get rich" dreams can apply to some of our citizens, those who possess capital, but it can never apply to the majority of our citizens, and in any case not to wage-earners. A growing trend toward increased poverty in society will not be curbed by social welfare programs, soup-kitchens, or even the best possible unemployment benefit system.

It is a good thing that the government is fighting poverty, and this will undoubtedly alleviate the tragic material circumstances of thousands of people, but this is no more than a process that can mitigate the effects of institutional tendencies that stem from the changes in the system that have been started, from an increase in the varying degree to which needs are satisfied, and that part of society will become wealthier and wealthier, whereas the majority of society will become poorer and poorer. The highly developed capitalist countries' experiences with the "income revolution," which began in 1960's, show that this tendency cannot be appreciably curbed in social terms.

It is assumed that the introduction of market mechanisms into the economy and the abandonment of the bureaucratic and centralized system of managing it are not possible without changing the structure of ownership. A change in the character of public property does not have to be synonymous with a change in the form of ownership. In addition, there is no substantive basis for asserting that the mechanisms of the market cannot function in a system in which the dominant form of ownership is public ownership (which is not to be confused with state ownership). The fact that the market mechanism has not been sufficiently appreciated until now and that public ownership is associated with the bureaucratic and centralized system of management with its low level of efficiency does not provide a substantive reason. [passage omitted]

We believe that the only possible solution, irrespective of how difficult it may be, is a step forward. Thus, it is not a matter of change that proceeds in the direction of capitalism, but of change that proceeds in the direction of creating a new democratic form of socialism. Although the word socialism has been tarnished by various bad practices and aberrations, it has not, however, lost its basic sense.

Every attempt to reverse the course of history must end in failure sooner or later. So we should go back, but forward.

## Draft Legislation on Political Parties Introduced

*AU0711173989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Nov 89 pp 1, 2*

[Report signed 'J.M.': "At the Initiative of the PZPR Deputies Club—Draft Legislation on Political Parties Has Been Laid Before the Sejm"]

[Text] Draft legislation on political parties and their financing which was the initiative of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has now been laid before the Sejm for its consideration.

Additionally, draft legislation seeking to amend Article 3 of the Constitution by deleting wording on the leading role of the PZPR, and its coalition with the other two parties—also proposed by the PZPR Deputies Club—has been with the Sejm for some time now. This draft legislation proposes various amendments by defining the general principles which would be applicable to the formation, registration, and definition of the conditions of activity and finance of political parties.

These fundamental principles are the freedom to form political parties conditional on the acceptance of the democratic principles of the system:

—The right of citizens to voluntary association;

—Political pluralism;

—The delegation of the powers of registration and deregistration of political parties to the Constitutional Tribunal.

These are the basic principles that the new draft legislation seeks to develop further, and its aim is to introduce the legal principles that will govern the formation and the functioning of political parties. The lack of such legal regulations—we read in the explanatary preamble—could lead (and did lead) to the state of affairs where political parties (the party) might rise above the law. In a democratic country the law should be above the political parties.

The draft legislation states that all Polish citizens who are entitled to voting rights have the right to form themselves into political parties. They can come together to put forward various interests and social and political ideas, with the aim of exerting influence on the policies of the state, and the harmonious development of society.

Party organizations can be established in factories, schools, and so on, if the political activity does not impinge on the smooth running of such places. Conditions governing political activities in institutions such as the judiciary, the prosecutors office, the Armed Forces, the militia, and the state administration will be subject to its own separate legislation.

Political parties must strive to achieve their aims by democratic methods and must themselves be organized on democratic lines (the elections of the party leadership by secret ballot, majority voting, and the right of the minority to have a guaranteed say). Political parties that seek to achieve their aims by undemocratic means would be proscribed.

A distinction is made between registered and nonregistered political parties. Registration would be through application to the Constitutional Tribunal. Such an applicant party must have a minimum of 10,000 registered members. The Constitutional Tribunal could proscribe the formation of any party, if it should decide that the aims of that particular party are unconstitutional.

A political party that obtains registration becomes a legal identity, is eligible for public funds from the budget (this is conditional on whether the party is represented in Parliament or not), the right to have parliamentary and people's councils election campaign expenses reimbursed, and has the right of access to radio and television. An unregistered party would have no rights to such privileges.

A letter of acknowledgement from the Constitutional Tribunal would be sufficient proof of the legal existence of such an unregistered party, and the name of such party would then qualify for legal protection.

The control over the activities of political parties would be assumed by the Constitutional Tribunal.

Systematic infringements of the Constitution or the law on political parties would constitute sufficient grounds for the Constitutional Tribunal to declare any political party illegal. If a political party does not submit candidates in two successive general elections, it shall be struck off the register of political parties. As regards political party finances, the project puts great emphasis on the openness of its financial transactions.

## PZPR CC Secretary Meets Young Party Members

*AU0711094189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Nov 89 pp 1,2*

[Report by Zenon Kulej: "What the Secretary Said to PZPR Candidates"]

[Text] Jerzy Urban was not invited to the meeting although his announcement that he intends to join the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] places him in the same position as the guests that Central Committee Secretary Leszek Miller received on Friday [3 November].

During the discussion someone joked that Urban would be rather out of place in view of his age, which was an apt observation, because there were only young people in the hall. They all had one thing in common: They had recently become candidate members of the PZPR.

Leszek Miller and Tadeusz Rzepecki, deputy chief of the Central Committee Party Work Department tried to sound out the opinions of the guests: What were their motives for signing up as candidate members at a time when the party finds itself in a difficult situation? What do they expect after the 11th Congress? How do they view their involvement in the party?

The ice had to be broken before the first answers started to be given, and this Leszek Miller did by asking about the exodus of young people to the West. Rszyard Wylegala from Szklarska Poreba asked how the exodus could be stopped. The first speaker said that people leave the country, because it is difficult to earn enough money for an apartment by working for the state and that it is even difficult to make ends meet as a state sector employee. Others who added their own observations agreed with the first speaker, maintaining that something had to be done but not by administrative methods. Leszek Miller said that he believed that the problem would solve itself as progress is made in implementing the economic reform. Today it pays to earn money in the West and to spend it in Poland. This stems from the difference in the purchasing power of the dollar and the zloty. The situation is advantageous from the viewpoint of the individual, but it has negative social consequences, because it diminishes the incentive to work in our country. However, everything may change next year, because the government intends to make the zloty convertible. Price-wage ratios will be different. There is one thing to watch out for: There is a danger that the decision may result in growing disparities in the standard of living of various social groups!

As an aside to this main theme of the discussion, Leszek Miller shared the impressions that he took away from his talks with Egon Krenz in the Central Committee building. He said that the general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was of the opinion that economic factors were not the main reason for the recent wave of young people leaving the GDR. What they want are solutions giving them a greater feeling of freedom and making it easier for them to travel abroad. So, the changes that have been announced in the GDR are intended to satisfy these needs.

The problems of fraternal parties were also raised by Malgorzata Wagrowska from Lodz. She talked about changes to the model of the Hungarian party and the need for the PZPR to draw conclusions from this. Referring to various possible scenarios for the course of the congress, M. Wagrowska warned of the danger of adopting a concept that would rely on "building a new party on the ruins of the PZPR." L. Miller agreed and stressed the need to maintain left-wing unity.

There was no uniformity of views on the future of the party itself. Some pointed to passivity and wait-and-see attitudes in primary party organizations. However, others said that they believed that there were many people who wanted to remain in the party and do something for it. This also applied to older people. This latter observation sounded polemically set against the statements indicating differences in the party centering on age....

There are few young people in the PZPR nowadays. That is true. The average age of the party member is about forty-six. The party has about 150,000 candidate members. Is that few or many? The new party established following the 11th Congress can have fewer members than the PZPR; it can even have 500,000 or 700,000 members. However, in a parliamentary democracy the ability to win support at elections will be the decisive factor, and not the number of party members. Fundamental changes have to be made to work forms and methods. It also means even giving consideration to the possibility that party structures will leave the workplace at some stage in the future (it should be noted that this solution would apply to everyone, including the "Solidarity" political party).

How young people came to join the party was an interesting part of the discussion. R. Wylegala, who was already mentioned above, said that his decision to join evolved over the course of 10 years. Someone else (names were not always given) spoke about the influence of friends and family. There was also someone who was not completely sure that he would remain in the party. Kazimierz Zuchewicz said that he did not want to be associated with PZPR actions carried out in the past. He stopped having any doubts now that the party had stopped governing and the left had to defend the dignity of working people and poor people.

Other matters were also discussed. There was, for example, discussion of the results of the party poll and the majority of speakers was in favor of allowing PZPR candidate members to stand for election as congress delegates. Leszek Miller said that this solution would probably be approved at Monday's [6 November] PZPR Central Committee plenum. It is more than likely that the plenum will also come out in favor of the direct election of congress delegates. The Central Committee secretary asked who intended to campaign for election as a delegate.

No one answered in the affirmative. Doubts were voiced about whether young people stood any chance at all of being elected. L. Miller wondered why they should not, saying that one did, of course, have to fight and campaign.

Someone replied that echelons were not even giving any thought to the possibility of arranging meetings for young people in their headquarters.

The Central Committee secretary said: "Why not? The Central Committee made very clear suggestions about this very matter. Are they not aware of young people? If that is so, then you should approach voivodship or town committee secretaries yourselves and say: 'If you have a free hall, let us use it for a meeting.' You should become leaders in your communities!"

### PZPR Plenum Adopts Resolution 4 Nov

*AU0911124489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 89 p 1*

["Resolution of Central Committee on Procedures and Character of Preparatory Works to 11th Congress"—adopted by PZPR Central Committee Plenum on 4 November in Warsaw]

[Text] 1. The Central Committee is putting forward:

—the proposals of the program declaration;

—the suggestions for the framework of party regulations;

that have been elaborated by the Central Congress Commission with the aim of stimulating a general discussion preceding the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress.

The Central Committee appeals to all party members and party organizations from all circles, discussion platforms, and other groupings of the left that are outside the party, for a creative and active response to the ideological, programatic, and organizational assumptions contained in the presented proposals.

The Central Congress Commission, basing itself on the discussions that have already taken place, is preparing drafts of the program declaration and party regulations which the Central Committee will forward to all delegates to the PZPR 11th Congress.

2. The Central Committee confirms that the "Principles Governing the Selection of Delegates to the PZPR 11th Congress (Directly by All Candidate and Party Members)" have been accepted. It will instruct its voivodship committees and voivodship congress commissions to conduct the task of selecting and electing of delegates to the PZPR 11th Congress, before 20 December 1989.

3. The Central Committee has decided to prepare a report of its activities for the period from the PZPR 10th Congress to be presented at the PZPR 11th Congress. It is instructing the Politburo of the Central Committee to coordinate the work involved in preparing the report and to present it for approval at the Central Committee 17th Plenum.

4. The Central Committee has called into being a team to elaborate the conclusions that flow from PZPR's activity and to inform the 11th Congress of its work and the final results.

5. The Central Committee instructs the Secretariat of the Central Committee to establish a "PZPR Fund" which, among other sources, will finance the preparations of the PZPR 11th Congress. The Central Committee appeals to party members and sympathizers to make voluntary contributions to this fund.

6. The Central Committee resolves that the PZPR 11th Congress—in accordance with the decisions of the Central Committee 15th Plenum—will commence on 27 January 1990 and will take place in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw.

Warsaw, 4 November 1989.

## Changes in SED's Politburo Noted

*AU1311135089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Nov 89 p 6*

[AGERPRES report: "Plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany"]

[Text] Berlin, 10 November (AGERPRES)—The proceedings of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] took the place in Berlin. The plenum examined various aspects of the situation in the GDR on the basis of a report presented by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

During the plenum proceedings, Egon Krenz was unanimously reconfirmed as general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The plenum elected a new Politburo.

The following were elected SED Central Committee secretaries: Wolfgang Herger, Siegfried Lorenz, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Guenter Schabowski, Helmut Semmelmann, Guenter Sieber and Hans-Joachim Willerding. Werner Eberlein was elected chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

The plenum proposed Hans Modrow as chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

The plenum decided to convene the SED National Conference on 15-17 December 1989.

## 'Festive' Meeting Marks GOSR Anniversary

*AU0611193889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 6 Nov 89*

["Festive Meetings"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/11/1989—On the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] a festive meeting was held in Bucharest on Monday, November 6. The meeting was sponsored by the Bucharest City Committee of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and the management board of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association.

Taking their seats in the presidium of the meeting were Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, executives of ministries, central institutions, mass and public organizations and party and state bodies.

The presidium also included Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, A.M. Moskvichev, deputy minister of health of the USSR, vice-chairman of the central management board of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, head of that association's delegation now visiting Romania.

Speaking about the historic significance of the event of November 7, 1917 were Cornel Pinzaru, minister secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union.

Accomplished by the proletariat and the peasantry in Russia, under the leadership of the Communist Party created and led by V.I. Lenin, Cornel Pinzaru showed in his address, the October Revolution was an event of world historic importance that paved the road to the building of the socialist and communist society, giving a strong impact to the fight fought by the peoples, by the progressive forces for national and social liberation, for freedom, for independence and peace. In the period elapsed since that memorable event, important achievements were scored in the Soviet Union in the development of industry, agriculture, science, education, culture and the arts. In the new development stage, the Soviet people work on the basis of the resolutions of the 27th Congress and the 19th National Conference of the party to step up the country's socioeconomic development, improve the organization and management of the social life, fully capitalize socialist democracy and the whole potential of the socialist system, raise the working people's material and spiritual standards. Internationally, the Soviet Union's proposals and initiatives for and its important contribution to the achievement of disarmament and the safeguarding of peace enjoy special appreciation.

Relying on strong traditions of friendship and solidarity and firmly set on the principles of scientific socialism of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the Romanian-Soviet relations have known strong development in all areas of activity in the years of socialist construction, more particularly in the last few years.

A special role in the overall development of the Romanian-Soviet relations has been played by the talks conducted and understandings reached at top level moments of major significance in the ascending course of the links between the two parties and states. A strong expression of the lasting links between the two parties, countries and peoples, of their wish to impart further dimensions to those links were the interviews in Bucharest and Moscow between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, events which opened new prospects to the productive, mutually advantageous collaboration between the two countries.

In his address, Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union, highlighted the significance of the event of 72 years ago when the first victorious proletarian revolution was accomplished to put an end to man's exploitation, assert free work and the people's supremacy, to set a socialist perspective, and not only for Russia, to change the evolution of world history and to show the millions of people the road to freedom and equality, to social progress.

After highlighting at length the Soviet peoples' achievements in the last few decades in all areas of activity and the new lines of socioeconomic development of the country, the ambassador said that the innovating changes in the USSR in the current period were a continuation of the cause of October, the confirmation of the historic option made in 1917 in the newly created conditions.

The speaker then referred to the basic principles of the USSR foreign policy, stressing in that framework that the CPSU showed constant care for the continuous development of the Soviet-Romanian relations in all areas. A telling expression of that line, he said, are the systematic meetings between the leaders of the two parties and states, he said. They lay a lasting foundation for the policy of expanding the bilateral collaboration and cooperation in the world arena.

In conclusion, the Soviet ambassador conveyed the Romanian Communists and the whole Romanian people wishes of further successes in the implementation of the resolutions to be endorsed by the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The same day an exhibition of photographs showing aspects of the economic, social and cultural life of the USSR opened in the Exhibition Hall of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

On the same occasion, a festive meeting was held in Constanta (lying in the southeastern part of Romania) which was attended by representatives of local party and state bodies, of mass and public organizations, by numerous working people.

### Editorial on Anniversary

*AU0911190289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Nov 89 p 5*

[Editorial: "72d Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"]

[Text] The peoples of the Soviet Union and, together with them, the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world are marking the 72d anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an event that radically changed the destiny of the peoples in Russia and led to the creation of the first socialist state in the world in which the power was taken over by the working people in cities and villages. At the same time, on the basis of the profoundly revolutionary changes it generated, thus demonstrating that it lies in the power of the workers class and of the masses to eliminate exploitation and social injustice, the October Revolution exerted a tremendous influence at the world level and vigorously stimulated the struggle of the proletariat and of all peoples in the world for a new, free, and dignified life. Describing the importance of this great event 72 years ago, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, emphasized: "The October Revolution, which took place under the leadership of the Communist Party founded by Lenin, marked an event of world historic importance that led to the creation of the first socialist state of the workers and peasants, paved the way for socialist revolutions, and gave a vigorous impetus to the struggle waged by the peoples and progressive forces for social and national freedom, for liberty, national independence, and peace."

As is known, discontented with losing the dominant position of the exploiting classes, domestic counterrevolutionary forces unleashed a civil war. At the same time, realizing that its positions are shaken by the victory of the proletariat in one-sixth of the globe and that its attempts to restrain the revolutionary wave in its own countries failed, world imperialism tried to suppress with arms the newly set up state of the workers and peasants. Inspired by the Leninist ideas and by the bright prospects of a new life, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, were victorious in those difficult trials, demonstrating that there is no force capable of defeating peoples inspired by the will and determination to defend their revolutionary achievements and their right to forge their life according to their own aspirations.

In a short historic period, the Soviet peoples overcame the backwardness they had inherited from the tsarist regime and successfully fulfilled their first 5-year plans. Proving the great creative potential of socialism, they ensured the accelerated development of the forces of production, of the whole society, and set the technical-material base for the new system.

The lastingness of the new system was once again and excellently verified during World War II when, full of heroism and inspired by fervent patriotism, the Soviet peoples won a victory of exceptional importance over the Nazi invaders and made a decisive contribution to defeating the Hitlerite war machine and to saving mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement.

In the years that have elapsed, by proving their profound adherence to socialism and communism and working with devotion, the Soviet peoples ensured the constant raising of the country to new levels of progress. The Soviet Union has become a great socialist state with a powerful modern industry, developed socialist agriculture, and a tremendous scientific-technical and cultural potential. Through its economic potential, through the constructive foreign policy it promotes, the Soviet Union also plays a great role at the world level.

More and more peoples have embarked on the road of socialist revolution and, in specific conditions and forms that differ from country to country, have attained—on the whole—important achievements in eliminating backwardness and building socialism. Life itself has proved the strength and superiority of socialism as the only system capable of eliminating exploitation and oppression of man by man, able to solve peoples' vital problems, and to guarantee a dignified life for all members of society. Through their great achievements in all areas of human activity, socialism has asserted itself in practice as the only alternative to the unjust capitalist system, demonstrating that, in accordance with the very laws of social development, sooner or later capitalism will be replaced with the socialist system, which represents the future of the whole of mankind.

At this point, the Soviet peoples are involved in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, of the All-Union Conference, the later plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which stipulate a comprehensive program aimed—under the specific conditions of the country—at perfecting social life, eliminating shortfalls and distortions that have occurred, developing the forces of production rapidly, and in a balanced way, and vigorously affirming the potential of socialism.

The anniversary of the October Revolution gives us the opportunity to recall the rich Romanian-Soviet traditions of friendship and cooperation. As is well known, the Romanian socialists and the revolutionary and democratic circles in Romania, which as early as the end of the last century established relations of close cooperation and internationalist assistance with the Russian socialists, including Lenin, welcomed the victory of the proletariat in Russia with enthusiasm. The participation, with arms in hand, of the Romanian revolutionary detachments in the battles waged to defend the young Soviet power, is a telling proof of the militant solidarity with the October Revolution.

A new stage in the Romanian-Soviet relations was opened up by the historical action of 23 August 1944, when the Romanian Army turned arms against the Hitlerite troops and fought heroically, shoulder to shoulder, with the Soviet Army for the complete liberation of the homeland and then for the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, up to the complete defeat of fascism.

After the installation of the people's power in Romania, the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples have been raised to a new and higher qualitative level and moved toward a firm and continuous development. As a foundation of these relations, the experience gained clarified the principles of scientific socialism, equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and comradely assistance, which have been written down in the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the two countries and in other joint documents.

A decisive role in the development of the Romanian-Soviet relations were played and continue to be played by the relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the CPSU and, within this framework, by the summit meetings and talks. Broad prospects for the development and consolidation of the Romanian-Soviet relations have been opened up under the impact of the understandings reached during the official visits of friendship that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu paid last autumn to the Soviet Union, the previous visit that Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet paid to Romania, as well as during the meetings between the two party and state leaders held in Bucharest this summer. As is well known, these meetings have resulted in new understandings and decisions which reflect the joint wish to continuously strengthen friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries and between our peoples, in the interest of the scientific socialism.

Economic and scientific-technological cooperation have developed and continue to undergo a marked development, and the Soviet Union has always ranked first among the countries with which Romania has foreign economic relations. Within this framework, cooperation and production-sharing and the construction, through joint efforts, of important objectives for the national economies of both countries have acquired great scope. The exchange of experience, on party and state level and between local bodies and other mass and civic organizations is continuously expanding.

The development of cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union in the international arena is highly significant, and our countries—together with the other socialist countries and progressive, democratic, and realistic forces—consistently work together to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, in order to find peaceful and negotiated solutions to the interstate conflicts, and to establish a climate of detente, security, peace, understanding, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Life has firmly proved that the continuous development of the Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship and multifaceted cooperation is fully in keeping with the major interests of our countries and peoples, and with the interests of the general cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

## Ceausescu Addresses Machinery Workers

*AU1311104189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Nov 89 p 3*

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise on 8 November]

[Text] I have visited a few sections of the Heavy Machinery Enterprise. I have noted some very positive things in the introduction of new technologies, the modernization and technical improvement of products, and in the improvement of product quality in general. The Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise ranks among the largest such enterprises in Romania and even in Europe. It boasts highly technical equipment, modern technologies, and highly qualified personnel. You have great opportunities and the whole working collective has to make great efforts to manufacture the highly technical and complex products required by our national economy and for export. The production process and labor have to be optimally organized and the technical standard and quality of products have to be constantly improved. Only in this way will the enterprise fulfill the important tasks resting on it. In this spirit, it is necessary to increase the responsibility of the enterprise management, of the working people's council, and of all working collectives, technicians, and engineers, and it is necessary to raise all activities to a higher level in terms of quality and efficiency.

I want to congratulate you for the results you have achieved so far and to wish you further successes, as well as much good health and happiness!

## LUMEA Commentary Notes Balkan Cooperation

*AU0311101389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 2 Nov 89*

["Romania Active Promoter of Inter-Balkan Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/11/1989—A commentary in Romanian foreign policy weekly LUMEA of November 2 reads inter alia:

In the series of actions organized by Romania to expand, diversify and deepen the collaboration among the Balkan states on the most varied planes and for the assertion of the spirit of dialogue and collaboration among them, a special reunion on the promotion of economic and commercial cooperation among the countries in the continent opened in Bucharest. Following two other similar events held this year in the Romanian capital (the expert reunion on confidence building and security measures in the Balkans, May 22 to 24, 1989, and the ministerial reunion on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology, June 7-8) the new meeting expresses the joint wish and preoccupation of the Balkan countries to develop ample and fruitful collaboration among them, to favor setting in relations of ample cooperation, understanding and good neighbourliness in the zone. Organized, just as the previous ones, with the participation of all the six countries in the region (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey) the current forum is called to contribute to deepening and diversifying the mutually advantageous multilateral collaboration in the spirit of and based on the previous decisions and on the democratic principles of international relations.

As also proved by the year's actions, a number of initiatives and concrete demarches in various domains and the ample development of collaboration with the other Balkan states, both in the bilateral plane and multilaterally, make an important chapter of the Romanian foreign policy, an orientation consistently and dynamically promoted in a principled manner. In Romania's view expanding and diversifying the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and political cooperation among the Balkan states is part of the major political goal of turning the southeast European area into a zone of good neighbourliness, cooperation and peace, free of nuclear and chemical arms and foreign military bases, as a coherent, organic part of building European security, of the general struggle for peace and disarmament. Reasserting this consistent orientation of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state, which, as is known, also favours the involvement of other states interested in the implementation of some of the mentioned goals, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in the exposition he made at the enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP last week: We shall work firmly for ample collaboration in the Balkans, for turning our region into a zone free of nuclear and chemical arms and of foreign military bases. We speak up for expanded collaboration and are ready to amply collaborate in all forms with our neighbours, with all the countries in the Balkans and even in the Danubian area, paving the way for a gradual removal of all kind of obstacles and heading to rapprochement and development of fraternity and collaboration among our peoples.

Entertaining good, friendly and cooperative relations with all the Balkan states itself, Romania speaks up and works for the assertion of the bilateral and multilateral collaboration in the region, also by institutionalizing the latter, in such a way as to ensure superior dynamics and results to the economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation, to create the due climate for overcoming the difficulties still confronting some states in this part of the world in their mutual relations. In Romania's general conception concerning the prospects of regional collaboration the differences of social system, the Balkan states' belonging or not to the political and military alliances or economic groupings extant in Europe cannot and must not bar the path to intensified multilateral collaboration in the zone, if constantly setting out from principles of equity, fully equal rights and mutual advantage, from the unflinching observance of national independence and sovereignty.

On the contrary, the statuting of such relations in the Balkans, through the extension and consolidation of the achievements of so far, through the deepening of the tendencies to dialogue, would account for an important contribution of the states in the region to the promotion of a really new policy on a European and world plane, opposite to the obtaining practices and manifestations of the old policy, would open new vistas to the settlement by joint efforts of problems of evolution of the countries in the region on the road to progress and development. It is in the same spirit that Romania has assessed that the difficulties some states in the region still have to cope with in their mutual relationships can and must be settled only by political, peaceful means, in keeping with the fundamental interests of the respective nations, with the cause of friendship, understanding and good neighbourliness. As stressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, they must be neither overrated nor exaggerated. One should start from the fact that every country in the Balkans, just like all over the world, must settle their issues in full freedom and independence, that the only judge as to the proper or improper settlement of a problem is the people in the respective country. The extant problems, the Romanian head of state assessed, will undoubtedly find a proper solution in the process of development of the relations of collaboration and friendship among the Balkan countries.

On promoting such an outlook on the evolution of the inter-Balkan collaboration, on its orientation, dynamics and ends, Romania naturally speaks up and works for the continuation and extension of the multilateral collaboration in the region, for a passage to its materialization to a greater extent. An active participant in all multilateral meetings in recent years, including the first meeting in Belgrade, in February 1988, the foreign ministers of all states in the region, in the subsequent meetings in Sofia and Tirana, of the high officials of foreign ministries, as well as in the economic events, Romania constantly affirmed its confidence in the constructive values of the inter-Balkan collaboration, in its capability to contribute, by measures adopted by joint agreement, to the development of a new climate in the region, to the turning of the Balkans into a zone of peace and collaboration, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, free of foreign military bases, as an important component of the exigencies and positive tendencies manifest at a world level. Truthful to this major political target, articulated more than three decades ago, permanently resumed, developed and enriched after that, Romania proposed as early as 1982 the organization in Bucharest of a Balkan summit of heads of state and government, as an action meant to give new dimensions to the relations among the states in the region, also accounting for an important event of international life.

According to Romania's stand on principle, the meetings so far, both the political and economic and other ones, that consecrated a good start of inter-Balkan collaboration, that is necessary to be continued and deepened, account for many important steps toward making final that initiative called upon to give a powerful impetus to the actions of development of the collaboration in this part of the world, to the efforts for the establishment of an irreversible climate of peace, security and understanding in southeastern Europe.

The meeting on economic and commercial cooperation held these days emphasizes Romania's constant attention to and interest in the cause of multilateral Balkan collaboration and in raising the collaboration among the states in the region onto a higher stage and diversifying it.

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## Contributions From Inter-Balkan Meeting Viewed

*AU0711120089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1039 GMT 7 Nov 89*

["Development of Inter-Balkan Collaboration—in the Interests of the Peoples in the Region, of Peace and Security in Europe—a Commentary in 7 November SCINTEIA. Excerpts"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/11/1989—The meeting on the promotion of inter-Balkan economic and commercial cooperation held in Bucharest a couple of days ago has been, according to unanimous assessment, another major contribution to the development of many-sided cooperation among the states in the Balkans. Succeeding the other two events in Romania's capital city this year (the Balkan experts meeting on confidence and security-building measures and the ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology) the recent meeting was an opportunity to crystallize measures for the deepening and diversification of collaboration among the Balkan countries in such a domain of special importance for economic and social progress, for the consolidation of the policy of each nation's independence and sovereignty.

For Romania, the host to the meeting, the growth of collaboration and good neighbourliness in the Balkans is one of the fundamental goals of its foreign policy. The prodigious activity of Romania and its President Nicolae Ceausescu along this line is illustrated by the numberless initiatives, proposals and steps undertaken over the years to establish a climate of security in the Balkans and to turn them into a zone of peace and collaboration. Reiterating such a consistent orientation of the Romanian foreign policy, the party general secretary showed in his exposition to an enlarged plenary meeting of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee: We will firmly work for a broad collaboration in the Balkans, for the transformation of our region into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign military bases. We are for the expansion of cooperation and we are ready to achieve broad collaboration, in all forms, with our neighbours, with all the countries in the Balkans and even in the Danubian basin, which is apt to pave the way for the gradual elimination of any kind of obstacles and lead to rapprochement and growing brotherhood and cooperation among our peoples.

Itself having good relations of friendship and collaboration with all the Balkan states, Romania is and militates for the assertion of bi- and multilateral collaboration in the region so as superior results be yielded by the economic, technical, scientific, and cultural cooperation, a proper climate be established for the overcoming of the difficulties encountered by some states in reciprocal relations. In Romania's opinion the differences of social system, the allegiance or not to military-political alliances or to the economic groupings in Europe cannot and must not be an obstacle to intensifying many-sided collaboration in the Balkans if the principles of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, fully equal rights and mutual advantage are taken as a basis. On the contrary, the sanctioning of such relations in the Balkans, the enrichment and consolidation of the achievements scored so far through the deepening of the positive tendencies shown in the last few years would be an outstanding contribution of the states in the region to promoting an actually new policy on a European and world plane opposed to the practices and actions of the old nefarious policy that sowed hatred and disunited them, would create new prospects for the resolution through joint efforts of the problems related to the evolution of the countries in the area on the way of progress and development.

The progress in inter-Balkan collaboration, the assertion of political dialogue between the states in the region are a corroboration of the justness of socialist Romania's persevering positions and steps along this line. As a telling expression of such tendencies, the exchanges of visits at a top or other levels increased, the cooperation and understandings multiplied and a comprehensive process of multilateral cooperation was initiated at a governmental level. A remarkable moment in this process was the Balkan foreign ministers meeting, the first of the kind in the postwar period held in Belgrade last year. An accord of principle was reached on the occasion regarding the institutionalization of the foreign ministers meeting, and several understandings were covenanted on the organization of other meetings at a ministerial or expert level. Concretizing the programme of those meetings, the Tirana meeting of deputy foreign ministers at the beginning of this year established a rich agenda of activities in inter-Balkan collaboration, the first meetings being due in Romania and Turkey, as announced.

The Bucharest meeting, attended by all the six countries in the region (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia) just like the previous ones was an opportunity to exchange opinions at length on the current stage of the economic and trade cooperation and to evince the Balkan countries' joint wish to carry into effect the recommendations and conclusions of the meetings of the ministers of the economy held in Ankara, and of the Bucharest ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology. It was also stressed that concrete measures should be agreed upon to fast turn to best account the Balkan countries' important potential for the development of their economic and trade relations on mutually advantageous terms, in keeping with their priorities, interests, laws and international duties.

The document endorsed at the end of the meeting mentions the possibilities offered by a closer collaboration among government organisms which coordinate the foreign trade activity, and the growing role the chambers of industry and commerce in the Balkan countries should play in the expansion and diversification of economic and trade exchanges, for the intensification of contacts and meetings between businessmen, experts and specialists, in the financial-banking system included.

During the Bucharest meeting numerous proposals were made regarding the organization of meetings on matters related to the development of the economic and trade cooperation among Balkan countries in the near future. Meetings are to be convened such as: The meeting of the representatives of the Chambers of Trade and Industry of Balkan countries to debate ways and means for their closer cooperation, including the possibility to set up a Balkan Chamber of Trade and Industry; a meeting of experts to examine the question of the trade barriers and envisage possible measures to remove trade barriers, to analyze possibilities to achieve an arbitration system for trade differences among companies in Balkan countries; meetings of experts to promote cooperation in various fields.

The participants deemed necessary to examine in the future the possibility to set up a permanent framework for the unfolding of the process of economic and trade cooperation to support the implementation of specific cooperation projects among Balkan countries in domains of mutual interest.

It was also shown that a meeting of representatives of the ministries of the economy or foreign trade, similar to the current Bucharest meeting, should be arranged every two years to survey the results of the inter-Balkan economic and trade cooperation and examine steps to further promote this cooperation.

The working atmosphere of the Bucharest meeting, the diversity of tangible proposals brought out in bold relief significant developments toward setting up a new climate to boost the institutionalization of manifold cooperation in the Balkans. All this evinces still more that it would be important to put into practice Romania's proposal to organize a Balkan summit which should play a decisive role in the development of understanding and collaboration, in the strengthening of security and peace in this region—aims for the achievement of which Romania has worked steadfastly, convinced that this meets fully the interests of all peoples in the region, the cause of peace and security in Europe and the world over.

## Modernization of Localities Observed

*AU0611095889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0809 GMT 6 Nov 89*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6/11/1989—The development and modernization of urban and rural localities by creating corresponding working and living conditions is one of the fundamental targets of the Romanian economic and social policy. To the end, constant attention has been paid to building an adequate economic base and modern and comfortable dwellings in each locality.

According to UN statistics, Romania places on a leading standing in the world as concerns the pace and volume of housing construction. More than 5.5 million dwellings were built in the years of socialism of which 3.3 million after 1965. Consequently, more than 80 per cent of Romania's entire population live in new houses. A survey of the 1965-1988 interval highlights Romania's great constructive effort in that area. The number of flats built from state funds increased 5.6 times. Computations show that had the pace of construction works prior to 1965 been maintained, the country's present housing stock would have been attained only by the year 2080.

Such large number of dwellings undoubtedly implied substantial financial funds. In 1988, it called for investment worth roughly 25 billion lei, that is over 28 times more than in 1950. Throughout the current five-year plan period, spanning 1986-1990, the funds allotted for housing construction and community services amount to 127 billion lei. Another 700,000 flats will be built in the next five years.

The ever closer correlation between economic planning and physical planning activities resulted in the balanced development of the network of localities. The country's towns developed powerfully, their number increasing from 152 in 1945 to 265 at present. Concomitantly, their population grew by more than six million in the past 25 years to account for more than half of Romania's total population at present. Important economic and social units were located with priority in numerous towns that were small localities with a low economic base in the past. Modern political and administrative centers, boasting a high economic development level, numerous key industries and powerful research, design and technological engineering units, were built in all counties. Which imparted further potential to county seats and contributed to increasing their role in the network of localities. This is the case of the municipalities of Alexandria, Bistrita, Botosani, Focsani, Miercurea-Ciuc, Slatina, Slobozia, Tulcea, Vaslui, etc. Furthermore, measures were taken to diversify the economic and social attributes of and expand the urban development and modernization process in a substantial number of medium-sized towns, such as Cimpulung Muscel, Fagaras, Medgidia, Pascani, Petrosani, Roman, Turda. The diversification of these towns' socio-economic profile turned them into "balance centers" within the country's network of urban and rural localities. The fact is noteworthy that after 1965 a higher development rate of small and medium-sized towns led to a doubling of the number of urban settlements, where industry is prominent, and to the development of new towns, more particularly in areas bountiful in farm and mining resources.

The priority development of small and medium-sized towns goes hand in hand with a process of modernization of the communes whose influence in the territory is marked. They are turned into agroindustrial centers. In view is a higher capitalization of the material and human potential of every area, a higher level of equipment of rural localities, the creation of working and living conditions similar to those in towns. This year, 28 commune seats headquartering agroindustrial councils turned into new urban localities.

Giving these settlements the status of agroindustrial towns, with the adoption of the law of the improvement of the administrative organization of Romania's territory, was an acknowledgement, under a legal act, of a situation de facto, a reflection of the deep-going changes wrought on the economic and social planes in all the zones of the country. These new towns will boast 12-grade lyceums, hospitals with 50-100 beds, dispensary and pharmacy, "Song to Romania" cultural and creative centers, commercial units, small industry and servicing units, as well as other urban-type amenities.

As for the other rural localities, their development and modernization rank prominent in the policy of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state of building a system of settlements to offer residents civilized living conditions. From an economic point of view, the Romanian village underwent a radical transformation. The implementation of vast land improvement programmes, after 1965 in particular, entailed fundamental changes in agriculture, whose production has increased with every passing year. At the same time, other economic activities developed in communes and villages to add to the farming works, thus ensuring a solid and diversified economic base. At present, the communes boast 60 thousand small-industry and servicing units whose total production is worth more than 34 billion lei. According to estimations, small-industry and communal services production will amount to at least 6,000 lei per capita until 1995 and to over 10,000 lei until the year 2000. At the same time, industrial activities will develop following the location in large communes of factories and sections of the national industry, which will turn existing local labor to better account.

The economic development of rural settlements went hand in hand with changes on a social plane, generally, with the reduction of the essential differences between towns and villages. A large number of new houses, including flats for experts and other staff, were built in the rural area. At the same time, numerous urban facilities were made available and they radically changed the look of today's Romanian communes and villages.

In future, too, special emphasis will be placed on the development of education and the ensurance of ever better health-care conditions. As a matter of fact, as concerns the latter aspect, in view is the organization of new health units in communes: dispensaries with 5-10 beds, maternity houses, etc. The villagers' access to culture will be ensured by an important network of specialized units. Almost every locality boasts a "Song to Romania" cultural and creative center, including a library, performance halls, etc.

In the spirit of the democracy that characterizes all the aspects of the political and socioeconomic life of Romania, the programmes for the development and modernization of all localities in the period spanning 1991-1995 are submitted to the citizens for extensive debate and they are an expression of the options and proposals of the residents of the respective settlements. It is only after they have been discussed and endorsed by the citizens that they start being carried into effect.

## U.S. Congress Rejects Kosovo Amendment

*AU0911220089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] The U.S. Congress today rejected the amendment which accuses the Yugoslav Government of human rights violations in Kosovo. Here is a report from Washington by TANJUG correspondent Dusan Zupan:

This amendment was adopted (?with difficulty) by the Senate this July, and was annulled today after the consultations held by the heads of the Senate and the House of Representatives, so that it is now considered to have never existed.

This act of, doubtless, statesmanlike wisdom and this result of the desire for good relations between the United States and Yugoslavia followed an attempt by a small group of congressmen this summer to take advantage of the present procedure of adopting laws by Congress and push along, without any discussion, amendments which virtually mean extending support to Albanian separatists.

As has been learned, during the process of deciding to reject the amendment, one bore in mind the real facts about the situation in Kosovo, but also the negative reaction of the Yugoslav public to the news that the proceedings on the amendment had been opened.

Several parallel political actions were carried out in Congress with a view to presenting the real situation in Kosovo to the congressmen, in which the contribution of members of the House of Representatives Jim Moody and Helen Delich Bentley was particularly noticeable.

Our embassy in Washington was also very active in breaking down the prejudices that separatist propaganda had started to create here.

## Further Reportage on Quadrilateral Conference

### Loncar Addresses Meeting

*LD1111162589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 11 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—The quadripartite meeting of foreign ministers and vice presidents of the governments of Yugoslavia, Austria, Italy, and Hungary represents an initiative that heralds a new, good beginning in these regions, for this is a time of changes "of the kind we do not recall from the postwar history," Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar stressed at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the four countries held in Budapest today.

Greeting the participants as representatives of the countries which not only are good neighbors of Yugoslavia, but also its partners in the building of good relations, Budimir Loncar stated that interdependence has become the imperative at this stage in Europe, and that the aspirations for integration have consequently gained different attributes and new dynamism. As one of the ways of integrating Europe, Loncar pointed precisely to the regional cooperation of the four countries, for this is a matter of linking up, despite the differences in international position. This, in Loncar's opinion, is an economic and political example on the soil of Europe, which intends to erect the all-European home.

Stating the advantages which these four countries have gained from the very start, the Yugoslav head of diplomatic service first cited developed bilateral cooperation, and in the course of this he particularly mentioned the Adriatic initiative of Yugoslavia and Italy. The second advantage is the fact that these countries, in Loncar's opinion, have already embarked on multilateral spheres such as the Danube initiative or the "Alpe-Adria" work community. Finally, this quadruple initiative fits into beneficial cooperation, and the development of positive processes in Europe, while Yugoslavia, Loncar said, affirms such a concept by taking an active part in the development of Balkans cooperation.

Highlighting the more important areas of cooperation between Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, Budimir Loncar first cited economic cooperation, in which more effective border trade, the openness of borders, the circulation of people and ideas, transportation and communications, could have a very significant role. The protection of the environment is also closely connected to this.

The field of human rights—and here Loncar made special mention of national minorities and their smooth development as one of the "important preconditions for the realization of human rights and freedoms"—is also an important field of cooperation.

Cooperation between the four countries conceived of in this way also strengthens mutual trust and security in their common continent, Loncar stressed, and corresponds with all three baskets [of agreements] in the CSCE process. Stressing that this four-way cooperation is not a moment of a return to history, because "among us there have been many things which we do not want repeated," Budimir Loncar expressed his confidence that with the meeting in Budapest "steps forward would be made into a new chapter of relations in these areas—relations which are an imperative of the new epoch. This is our common aim, and it is only together that we can achieve it," the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs said, concluding his speech at the meeting of the four foreign ministers in the Hungarian capital.

### Loncar Meets Counterparts

*LD1111210189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 11 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, who is attending a quadripartite meeting in Budapest of foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, today met Imre Pozsgay, the Hungarian minister of state, and his opposite numbers Gianni de Michelis and Alois Mock. During all three meetings, held in a friendly and constructive climate, bilateral relations and topical events in Europe and further afield were discussed.

Loncar and Pozsgay noted once again that the relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary are very good and that the developments in the two countries and in the world dictate further enhancement of this cooperation. The ministers briefed one another on internal reforms and exchanged views on the advantages of sub-regional contacts. With the Italian Minister De Michelis our federal secretary mainly discussed the so-called Adriatic initiative and its application, as well as the relations between the EC members and Yugoslavia. Proximity of views on the latest international events was expressed.

Austrian Foreign Minister Mock evinced special interest in the economic developments in our country, adding that Vienna is interested in cooperation between EFTA and Yugoslavia being improved. In this context, reference was made to the memorandum which the aforementioned economic group recently forwarded to Belgrade.

### Loncar Meets With Horn

*LD1211151789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 12 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn assessed in positive terms the proceedings and the completion of the four-sided meeting in which the ministers for foreign affairs of Italy and Austria, Gianni de Michelis and Alois Mock also took part. On the eve of his return to Belgrade, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Loncar and Horn exchanged opinions on possible forms of multilateral cooperation between the four countries and about the next [words indistinct] in Budapest in February next year.

The two ministers also discussed the latest events in Europe and the integration processes. In this context particular attention was paid to the next session of the Council of Europe on 16 November in Strasbourg, where delegations from Yugsolavia and Hungary will be present as guests for the first time. Loncar and Horn are expected to head these delegations.

### Drnovsek Sends Message to Iran's Rafsanjani

*AU0911195189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 89 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Drnovsek's Message for Rafsanjani"]

[Text] Tehran—"Yugoslavia and the Nonaligned Movement expect the present visit of Jan Eliasson, special envoy of the UN Secretary General, to Tehran to be successful and to help urgent and complete implementation of Resolution 598 of the Security Council concerning the end of the Iranian-Iraqi war."

This was said in the message of SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek to Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani which Trajko Trajkovski, SFRY ambassador in Tehran, handed today to Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Vaezi [name as transliterated].

As the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, Yugoslavia fully supports Eliasson's mission to Tehran and Baghdad and considers it to be a favorable occurrence in the implementation of the ideas of the Belgrade nonaligned summit concerning the reaching of a comprehensive, just, and permanent solution to the Iranian-Iraqi conflict.

Since the beginning of November, Jan Eliasson has been on a mediatory mission in Baghdad and Tehran with the purpose of preparing a new negotiations meeting on the implementation of the UN resolution about which no significant progress has been achieved in the past 14 months.

### Drnovsek Meets With Serbia's Milosevic

*LD0911224389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Inflation presents the central problem, and success in the struggle against it would be a significant psychological stimulus for dealing with our economic crisis.

The unanimous view is that an end should be put to the exacerbation and worsening of interethnic relations as this is of no use to anybody.

This was stressed by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, today in Serbia.

Within the framework of a regular visit to the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, held talks today with president of the Serbian Presidency Slobodan Milosevic and the highest ranking leaders of the republic in the presidency of the SR of Serbia.

They exchanged views on the most topical Yugoslavia economic and political issues. Special attention was devoted to the current socioeconomic and political situation in the country, implementing social reform, questions of constitutional changes in Yugoslavia, and the problems of the federation's functioning.

In the talks, the Serbian leadership expressed the view that galloping inflation, with all its consequences, is the most difficult problem in Yugoslavia today? At the same time, economic and social reform, despite social orientations, is being implemented very slowly.

It was also said that radical systemic changes aiming at halting negative economic and social trends and eliminating grave consequences caused in practice by the systemic solutions in use so far should be undertaken without delay. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, was informed about the views and stands of the leadership of the SR of Serbia in connection with the most important socioeconomic and political problems in the country, as well as about efforts made by Serbia towards overcoming them.

The leadership of the SR of Serbia believes that to eliminate essential causes of enormous inflation, which threatens to undermine the bases of the reform, Yugoslavia needs a radical and comprehensive anti-inflation program which is all-encompassing and would be consistently implemented. The stand of the SR of Serbia is that it was not realistic to expect that creating the initial legal conditions for forming a market economic system in the country would have in itself made it possible to halt and curb inflation. Certain measures of the economic policy, particularly the way of establishng and implementing price liberalization of imports, have brought about a very unfavorable material position in regions that have above-average production of energy basic raw materials, reproduction materials, and agricultural products. In the conditions of hyperinflation this discrepancy between regions is increasingly widening. Negative consequences of such a situation have found their full expression precisely in the SR of Serbia. Because of this, according to the leadership of the SR of Serbia, it is necessary to make single corrections of relations disordered by hyperinflation in the areas of price parity and other macroeconomic parameters.

In connection with the political and security situation in the country the stand of the SR of Serbia is that the latest extremist actions by separatists in Kosovo aim at reducing the effects of state organs and all progressive forces toward normalizing the situation in this province, and that the forces of Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo find a considerable stimulus and encouragement for their hostile actions in some political trends and behavior in the SR of Slovenia and the SR of Croatia.

However, judging by the number of participants, the latest hostile demonstrations have shown that an enormous majority of working people and citizens of Albanian nationality are against such activity, which is undoubtedly a significant factor in dealing with the Kosovo problem. In the talks it was established that for consistent implementation of the policy on Kosovo by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the highest state organs, as well as for strengthening a united front of the progressive forces of all nations and nationalities in the province, it is necessary for all political factors in the country to be active and behave responsibly.

In the talks the participants particularly discussed the problems of the federation's functioning. According to the leadership of the SR of Serbia, it is necessary to adopt as soon as possible a new constitution that would ensure a socialist character of society and the integrity of Yugoslavia. The leadership of the SR of Serbia resolutely holds the view that with the new Yugoslav Constitution, the federation should be given back a legal and political subjectivity to carry out its functions efficiently in the economy, freedoms, and human rights, national equality, national defense, security, and foreign policy. The SR of Serbia favors a socialist, federal republic of Yugoslavia as a democratic community of equitable nations and nationalities which is in the interest of its working people and citizens. Serbia is in favor of a federation and organs that are efficient and independent in carrying out their tasks and are accountable for their work to the SFRY Assembly.

Speaking about the economic situation, President Drnovsek pointed out that inflation presents the central problem and that success in the struggle against this would be a significant psychological stimulus for dealing with our economic crisis. Janez Drnovsek stressed that in the struggle against inflation there can be no delays and in the SFRY Presidency they are working on this intensely. In this connection he stressed that the program of the commission for the questions of reform of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia is consistent and very good and that it should find its place in Yugoslav plan documents soon.

Speaking about tasks connected with adopting the new SFRY Constitution, President Drnovsek said that the SFRY Presidency will initiate the adoption of the new SFRY constitution and that activities connected with this are under way. He agreed that it is necessary to prepare and adopt the new SFRY constitution as soon as possible, and said that numerous problems in the functioning of our economic and political system indicate the same. This constitution should be shorter, more modern, and should contain all up-to-date solutions on human freedoms. This responsible task can be carried out speedily, but only if conditions in society are created for this, confrontations and lack of trust are reduced, and the media war between public organs from individual socialist republics and autonomous provinces is stopped.

In connection with the situation in Kosovo President Drnovsek stressed that the SFRY Presidency will discuss the situation in a comprehensive way since there is a great deal of polarization on this issue. President Drnovsek assessed that the leadership of Kosovo and Serbia is justified in demanding united action in the country. In connection with the proposal for abolition, President Drnovsek said that this proposal is too politicized and that the assessment has been that this measure can contribute to further normalization of the situation in Kosovo. According to Drnovsek, this initiative is not directed against Serbia and Kosovo and would not have been endorsed without taking their stand into account.

Speaking about interethnic relations in the country, particularly in connection with the recent session of the SFRY Presidency, President Drnovsek stressed that the unanimous view is that an end should be put to the exacerbation and worsening of interethnic relations as this is of no use to anybody. Differences in views on the most important issues in the country are in essence smaller than they appear and it is possible to overcome them through a sensible and principled approach. This is the joint conclusion from the talks held between Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and the leadeship of the SR of Serbia.

## Reportage on Serbian Chamber, Assembly Elections

### Milosevic Evaluates Elections

*LD1211143389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 12 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)—More than 7 million citizens of Serbia and its provinces will elect delegates today to sociopolitical chambers, municipal chambers, local community chambers in municipal assemblies and the assemblies of Belgrade, the provinces, and the republic. In the whole of Serbia, citizens in 190 municipalities will also cast their votes at 14,885 polling-booths in the referendum on candidates for president of the presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia. The candidates for this top post are Slobodan Milosevic, Zoran Pjanic, Miroslav Djordjevic, and Mihalj Kertes. [passage omitted]

Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, voted today in the general election for delegates in the councils of local communities, the councils of municipalities, and the sociopolitical councils at all levels in the republic.

Milosevic, as a resident of the Kalenic local community in the Belgrade municipality of Vracar, together with his wife Mirjana and daughter Marija, fulfilled his civic duty sometime after 1100 at polling station No. 155 in the Bora Markovic educational center at No. 2 Bozidara Adzije St.

In a statement for the many representatives of the media, some of whom had been waiting for him at the polling station since the early morning, Slobodan Milosevic assessed these elections as so far the most democratic ones in Serbia. This, he said, is indicated by the facts.

Without new people, the new policy cannot be implemented, and these democratic elections are a way of allowing new people, who will take into their own hands the responsibility for social tasks, to emerge on the political scene, the president of the Serbian Presidency stressed and added that this is also a reason for viewing the future with optimism.

### REUTER Interviews Milosevic

*LD1211144289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 12 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—Serbian state leader Slobodan Milosevic told REUTERS he would quit politics if he lost at today's referendum for president of this Yugoslav republic.

Pointing out he was not a professional politician, former banker Milosevic said "and what is more logical than that a man returns to what he's professionally able to do when his political function ends.

For the first time in post-war history, seven million Serbs today vote for the president of the republican presidency among several candidates.

Today's ballot is in fact only a public opinion poll, since the Serbian Parliament will elect the president of the republic between two candidates who get the highest number of votes.

Milosevic is considered the favourite, since he enjoys the trust of the majority Serb population for his efforts to normalize the situation in Serbia's autonomous province of Kosovo, the scene of actions of ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

Milosevic faces three opponents, all of whom are members of the Serbian leadership, in the direct secret ballot today.

Intellectuals have criticized today's elections because only communist candidates have been allowed to stand.

It is true that we have not yet freed ourselves (?completely) of the old electoral system, admitted Milosevic in his interview and announced that the shortcomings would be corrected in the future constitutional amendments.

Milosevic discarded the charges from the republics of Slovenia and Croatia that he wanted to replace Yugoslav President Tito who had ruled the country throughout the postwar period until his death. He stressed that the charges from the two republics, saying that he was a dogmatist and Stalinist, were aimed at compromising him in the West.

In commenting the criticisms from Slovenia and Croatia that he had cracked down on Albanian separatists, the Serbian leader said that these attacks were coming from the circles, hostile to Serbia, which wanted to disintegrate Yugoslavia.

As for the situation in Kosovo, where Albanian separatists this month again demonstrated and clashed with security organs, Milosevic assessed that only a number of fanatics resort to terrorist attacks in an attempt to secede Kosovo to Albania. For long centuries the Albanians and Serbs have been living together in Kosovo and their mutual harmony and peace were their common concern, stressed Milosevic.

The head of the Serbian state stated that the special party congress called for next January should do away with leaders who have spread national hatred among Yugoslavia's peoples so that the country could dedicate itself to economic and political reforms.

## 74.5 Percent Vote

*LD1311023389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2252 GMT 12 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 12 (TANJUG)—As announced in Belgrade this evening, 74.5 percent of the electorate turned out to cast their ballots in the early election for the local assemblies and the republican assembly in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today. This is only the preliminary and incomplete information concerning the turn-out for the election, in which the citizens of Serbia also chose from among four candidates a president for the Presidency of this biggest Yugoslav republic.

The favourite for the highest office in Serbia was Slobodan Milosevic, 48, the current president of the Republican Presidency.

The biggest turn-out was in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina—87 percent, followed by Inner Serbia—70 percent, and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo—65 percent.

The official returns will be known in the next few days.

The other five republics have decided to wait for the regular parliamentary elections next year.

## TANJUG on LC Elections

*LD1311172989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1520 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, November 13 (TANJUG)—Open Several-Candidate lists and secret vote are the main characteristics of the forthcoming elections in the League of Communists of Serbia (LCS) and a step of significance from formal towards real democratisation in the election system, it was evaluated at a session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (LCS), Yugoslavia's largest constituent republic, here today.

While summing up the party's election activities, Milenko Petroviln executive secretary of the LCS Presidency, cautioned that in some circles still to be found is resistance to the cadre (personnel) renewal and to the policy of sweeping changes established two years ago at its 8th session, known for a split-up and changes in the top party circles of Serbia.

The LCS election program, proclaiming market economy, socialist democracy and setting up a modern state of law as a unified community of equal peoples and nationalities, was supported by an overwhelming majority of its membership, he said.

The LCS high-ranking official pointed out that the LCS membership, in debates on the coming elections, rejected all attacks on and insinuations at the LCS policy and its leadership for its alleged hegemonism. Attacks on the Republic of Serbia and its leadership coming from some other Yugoslav republics were qualified as being an unsuccessful mask behind which to be seen are somebody else's nationalistic and separatist seekings or efforts for "tailoring" Yugoslavia to the measure of partial interests.

At nominating assemblies of voters, the membership protested at support coming from some circles in Republics of Croatia and Slovenia to the movement of ethnic Albanian separatists in the Province of Kosovo, southern Serbia. Such anti-Yugoslav support is bound to give rise to terrorism in the province suffering bad shakes from steady disorders stirred up by ethnic Albanians, it was evaluated.

For the elections for Serbia's local and all the way up to the republic's topmost bodies nominated for all the posts have been more members than those to be elected.

For the first time for the president of the presidency of the LCS brought forward have been two candidates, namely Dr Bogdan Trifkpovic, the president in office now, and Tomica Raicevic, deputy chairman of the management committee of the (?Bora) mining and smelting basin.

Accepted has Bora proposal that the party chief should be the president of the whole League of Communists instead only of its presidency, i.e. an inner collective leadership, so as to make the responsibility and efficiency of the party's top forum stronger.

## 'Overwhelming' Milosevic Win

*LD1411001789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2337 GMT 13 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 13 (TANJUG)—As expected, Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic has won an overwhelming majority of votes in Sunday's elections, reports the Belgrade press in Tuesday's [14 November] editions.

The press bases its conclusion on preliminary returns from the elections in several cities in inner Serbia and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

In a referendum, votes were chosing among four candidates for the top republican post and elected delegates to the republican and local assemblies.

The counting is still going on and the final returns will be known on Wednesday.

As many as 81.5 percent of the registered voters turned out for the elections, the press reports.

## Slovene MLADINA Article on Milosevic 'Crude'

*LD0811214989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The latest issue of MLADINA, organ of Slovene youth, has gone beyond all professional, ethical, and human norms in what it published on its pages about Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. What is published on the penultimate page of the 39th issue of this paper is so vulgar and bizarre that it astounds any normal person. Even the layout of this page contravenes all social norms.

In a statement to TANJUG, Marjan Siftar, president of the Republican Information Committee, assessed the pubished text and photographs carried by MLADINA as crude, vulgar, and primitive. Such writing, Siftar said, is utterly unacceptable and contravenes the most elementary ethics. [passage omitted]

## Serbian Journalists Body on Article

*AU1011212389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 89*

[Text] The Ethics Council of the Serbian Journalists Association has initiated proceedings before the Tribunal of Honor of the Slovene Journalists Association against responsible people of the periodical MLADINA. The reason for so doing is an article in the latest issue of MLADINA which represents a serious violation of the Code of Yugoslav Journalists.

By publishing this article in MLADINA, one has broken all ethical norms of a civilized society. The announcement by the Ethics Council of the Serbian Journalists Association points out that the editorial policy of the organ of the Slovene Youth Federation has gone astray so much that it cannot go back at all.

## VJESNIK Views 'Solving of Serbian Question'

*AU0811205489 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 89 p 6*

[Zoran Daskalovic commentary: "False Advocates"]

[Text] After the Macedonian public and some Macedonian organs reacted to the removal of the memorial plaque marking the venue of ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Macedonia] in the Prohor Pcinski monastery, after demands had been made to abolish the Law on Colonists and on Creating Conditions for Them To Return to Macedonia, and after the Croatian public and organs opposed stances and assessments by the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina concerning events at the Knin celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo and all that happened in their wake, it seems that a conflict between the public and leaderships of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the public and organs of Serbia will be the next issue, touched off by the activity of the State Security Service of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. When one adds here the long and intensive ideological, political, and even economic war between Serbia and Slovenia, then the picture of processes and relations in Yugoslavia, with the Socialist Republic of Serbia at its center, is complete. Something that has long been publicly called an "antibureaucratic revolution" seems to be showing its basic characteristic—solving the Serbian question in the SFRY in a different way than has been done so far.

After the eighth session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the Serbian constitutional changes, the Socialist Republic of Serbia—first only some of its cultural and scientific institutions, with the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts at their head—the Serbian media, and some parts of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and now some of its political and state organs appear more and more in the role of sanctimonious protectors of Serbs who live outside Serbia. At the same time, particularly when assessing Slovene social processes, Serbian politicians assume the guise of concern for the Yugoslav Federation and the role of that Federation's uncompromised advocate and protector. Although all this is followed by aggressive media propaganda and indoctrination, it is clearer and clearer that the aim of this policy is to redefine and reconstitute the Serbian national question, and therefore the Yugoslav federal community as well.

Confronted with a deep social crisis, the creators and organizers of current Serbian politics have chosen for their political activity the form which is the easiest and most efficient on this territory—following the national trumpets that have long and incessantly been trumpeting about the Serbs as winners in war and losers in peace. Explaining it with the need to create all conditions for implementing the economic reform efficiently, one advocates the idea of changing the SFRY Constitution as soon as possible and to do so in a hurry. However, all these assaults on the sovereignty of some republics and, along with those, the synchronized pressures on federal organs, above all on the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Federal Executive Council, are leaving little ambiguity about their real aim.

The monolithic party and national reconciliation which have been reached concerning the task of solving the Kosovo drama, combined with the destabilization of other republics—by opening the Serbian question and an "antibureaucratic revolution," that is, undermining their leaderships (because, of course, what is involved are bureaucrats who are alienated from the people)—are gaining significant advantages in the forthcoming Yugoslav constitutional changes. While the others will be very much occupied with their intrarepublican relations and questions, and will be adjusting their constitutional initiatives to them, Serbian politicians will already have created conditions to aggressively impose their views on how to change the SFRY Constitution.

This, then, makes politicians of all other republics react in an identical or similar way. After all, such processes have already begun. Republican politicians more and more dominantly carry national colors and enjoy increasing support from their public. Moreover, all present interrepublican and interethnic conflicts and excesses will be almost insignificant in comparison to what is coming.

## Vojvodina President on Provinces' Position

*AU0911201089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] The Vojvodina Presidency supports the idea that the provinces, which are constituent parts of a united Serbia, should be represented directly in the federal organs. The Presidency also thinks that the new SFRY Constitution should include unified criteria establishing the position of provinces, so that they could be founded in other republics, too. This was what Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Presidency of Vojvodina said, briefing the Provincial Assembly delegates on the Presidency's work during this year.

Comrades from Slovenia, Croatia, and even some other parts of the country, Kostic said, think that Vojvodina should not be represented directly, but through the Serbian delegation. In other words, this means that they are now bothered by the fact that we have three votes in the Federation, and only until yesterday it suited them that we have one minus two votes. Hence, the Presidency of Vojvodina will do what it can to have the provinces remain parts of the federation, Kostic said, and as concerns all the others who think that we now have an advantage, we suggest that the SFRY Constitution should include criteria according to which they also can form provinces.

## Croatia's Dimitrovic on Importance of Federation

*LD0911093489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 8 (TANJUG)—Complex communities, like the Yugoslav community, can exist only in a federation which is also important for the strengthening of the economic functions of a federal state, Croatian League of Communists Central Committee Presidency Secretary Drago Dimitrovic said at a party gathering in Belgrade tonight.

The republic of Croatia believes that a part of Yugoslavia's political system should be a two chamber parliament, Dimitrovic said. The Federal Assembly should have a chamber of citizens, on a proportional basis according to the number of voters, and a chamber of the republics and provinces, set up on the principle of parity representation of the federal units.

Croatia is against the setting up of a chamber of associated labour in the Federal Assembly, believing it would be a "monopoly chamber" in a market economy.

Dmitrovic urged that the federation grant the basic rights of citizens and the legalization of new political alliances and organizations, with the exception of those which rally members solely on a "national basis".

Dmitrovic said it was necessary to "crush the points of separatism in Yugoslavia, and reconcile the different interests in Yugoslav society." He also believes that the articles in the Yugoslav penal code which open up the way for political processes should be abolished. [sentence as received]

## Slovene Government on Militia in Kosovo

*AU0911155489 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] The Slovene Executive Council will do everything necessary so that the militiamen from Slovenia will no longer have to go to Kosovo. Our militiamen cannot be recalled from Kosovo at present, because this would violate the laws on the basis of which our militiamen in Kosovo are part of the joint militia detachment, which contains militia units from all the republics and from Vojvodina.

The units of the Slovene militia go to Kosovo on the basis of the decree by the SFRY Presidency, according to which the federal secretary for internal affairs directly organizes the performance of certain security tasks on the territory of Kosovo.

It was decided at the session last night that the Executive Council will propose to the Slovene Assembly a comprehensive discussion of the situation in Kosovo, for the present policy in this field has obviously not brought any positive result. It will request the Federal Executive Council to cite the arguments showing the need for militia units from other republics to be engaged in Kosovo.

## Bosnia-Hercegovina LC on New LCY Program

*LD0811231589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Text] Sarajevo, November 8 (TANJUG)—The forthcoming congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina will uphold an earlier initiative for drafting a new programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the just published draft guidelines for the congress say.

The republican party congress, scheduled for early next month, will propose that the 14th special LCY Congress, convened for January 1990, start the job at [word indistinct] if possible, complete it in the next two years. The 15th LCY Congress will then be convened and the new party programme and statute considered and adopted at it.

As part of the proposed transformation of the LCY, communists in Bosnia-Hercegovina will also urge changes in methods of work and organization of its central committee. The changes should include a transformation of the principle of democratic centralism. "Specified questions" only would require consensus in the LCY Central Committee, whereas decisions on the conclusions and positions in other cases would be made by majority vote.

The draft guidelines also say that the League of Communists will strive for the consistent observation and implementation of the constitutional rights and freedoms concerning association and their extension to cover political association. However, the draft does not include any specific definition of the form and ways of political association.

The biggest changes are expected in respect to organization of the trade unions. The draft guidelines highlight efforts for the trade unions to be constituted as a class organization, autonomous with regard to the state, management structures and other institutions of the system.

## Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency on Security Service

*LD1011043389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—At a session held today, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina assessed that the state security service in the Republic is carrying out its tasks and duties under difficult conditions and that its unsatisfactory material situation most directly effects fluctuations of cadres.

In this connection, it was said, appropriate measures should be taken to halt this unfavorable process so that cadre numbers and their expert capability is to the greatest possible measure appropriate to the nature, severity, complexity, and responsibility of tasks and duties which this service has been entrusted by the constitution and the law.

## Drnovsek Visits Bor Basin, Holds Talks

*LD1011045489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] Bor, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Since the 1980's [as received] the development of our country has been halted, due in part to excessive debt. On this basis, a large amount of funds have gone toward paying interest and debts. Logically, it follows that there have been no internal funds for development while at the same time a struggle for the distribution of the remaining social products have been exacerbated.

With these words, Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, who today paid a visit to Bor, described the current complex situation in the country. The talks with business leaders and officials of the Bor municipality were also attended by Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, and Dr Miroslav Djordjevic, member of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia.

We must be much more efficient in economic activity, Drnovsek said, adding that we had not solved this problem. To be fair, other countries which are in a similar situation and are seeking a solution to the problems of excessive debt and seeking means to increase efficiency, are also unsucessful in dealing with these problems. We are quarreling too much about this. We need a certain degree of self-confidence and a firm orientation to resolve this situation.

Under conditions of pronounced economic difficulties, there has also been a series of other aberrations, in particular in relations between our nations and nationalities. Problems are getting entangled together and it is difficult to disentangle them now. The first step is to lower tensions and not to waste strength on conflicts, Drnovsek stressed.

Recently we have held a significant session of the SFRY Presidency devoted to interethnic relations of our republics and nations and nationalities with the goal of normalizing the situation through joint efforts. We agreed to establish widest possible contacts among republics. We also started from the fact that we cannot lower inflation without a complete agreement and the full mobilization of everyone in the country. That is why we need a constructive dialogue and the adoption of appropriate measures. Today we also held talks with comrades from the Serbian leadership. We established that there are no big differences beween programs of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, and other republics, but that by insisting so much on differences, we have created a climate unfavorable for making important decisions. Therefore, it is first of all necessary to calm down the situation, and the press can make a big contribution.

We are facing the adoption of a new Constitution. A process in that direction is already under way. We believe that the Constitution should be a much shorter document written in a more precise style, that it should protect the right of each individual, that we must reach agreements on the best possible democratic electoral system and deal with a series of other questions.

We all agree on the market orientation of our economic system, as well as on the competitive forms of ownership and the opening of the country and its movment towards world integrational trends. We should not allow our country to stay outside these processes because of our quarrels.

In concluding his speech to Bor business people and officials, Janez Drnovsek said that we are all nervous because of inflation which has now become the most difficult problem of primary importance. The SFRY Presidency, together with the Federal Executive Council [FEC], have reached an agreement, and the FEC has given guarantees that as early as the end of this year, it will publish a comprehensive measures for halting inflation which will be applied as soon as the beginning of the next year.

It is high time, Drnovsek stressed, that our negative trends are turned towards a positive way. I am sure that this is of great significance, not only for the climate in the country, but also for all the people. If we succeed, very soon conditions for a bigger inflow of foreign capital will be created, and better prospects will appear. [passage omitted]

Explaining reasons for his visit to Bor, Janez Drnovsek said that he came from a mining family from Slovenia and that individual members of his family used to come and work in Bor, and that is why he had wanted to see this production giant.

During today's visit, Janez Drnovsek also toured Veliki Krivelj new copper mine.

### Inspects Majdanpek Workshops

*LD1011045789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Majdanpek, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—At the end of his visit to the Bor basin, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek, accompanied by Zoran Sokolovic and Dr Miroslav Djordjevic, this afternoon visited Majdanpek.

Mihailo Andras, president of the Majdanpek Municipal Assembly, noted that in this municipality of miners and goldsmiths, as he put it, there are 26 nationalities, and that here no one is interested in where a person comes from, but rather where he works and what kind of worker he is.

President Drnovsek paid tribute to the businessmen of this municipality who, despite the crisis, are succeeding in achieving very good results. He particularly singled out the export orientation of the economy of this municipality.

At the end of their talks, the leaders of the Majdanpek goldsmiths presented President Drnovsek with a collection of silver coins with the head of Comrade Tito and a collection dedicated to Drvar and AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia].

President Drnovsek then inspected the workshops of the Majdanpek goldsmiths who export goods worth 15 million dollars.

## Admirals Simic, Brovet Questioned on TV Program

### Simic Defends Party Organization

*AU0811125289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Oct 89 p 5*

["Answer by Vice Admiral Petar Simic to a question on the scrapping of the League of Communists in the Army and separating the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from power, in the Belgrade Television program 'Topics and Dilemmas'": "The Party in the Yugoslav People's Army is a Factor of Combat Readiness"]

[Text] Those who insist on the depolitization of the Army actually mean in the narrowest sense the elimination of the party organization from the Yugoslav People's Army. For them, the matter of depolitization would then be dealt with. They do not or will not take account of the fact that this Army emerged through the work of the party in the national liberation movement and through work among the people. It drew its basic characteristics from this work—as a revolutionary, national, and Yugoslav army. The Army has the party organization and its activities in the Yugoslav People's Army to thank for the way in which it has developed since its emergence.

Nowadays the party organization is a factor—and one of the most essential—for ensuring the combat readiness, the special moral-political state for the Yugoslav People's Army to be able to be in the position to perform its constitutional role. I would like many elements of our political system to be able to be expressed in this way.

The country's defense is a delicate matter. Weakening it in this way and removing one of its main factors which in fact means the strengthening of the Yugoslav People's Army should first of all be thought about in a mature way, to put it mildly.

Scrapping the party organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and sending its members to the local organizations are probably prescriptions for some other armies. We would not consider these prescriptions which would weaken the force of the Yugoslav People's Army.

### Brovet on Army, Political Pluralism

*AU0811140589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Oct 89 p 5*

["Reply by Vice Admiral Stane Brovet to a question on whether the character of the Yugoslav People's Army would change with the introduction of a multiparty system, asked in the Belgrade Television program 'Topics and Dilemmas'": "Several Parties—a Professional Army"]

[Text] The introduction of a multiparty system would imply the depolitization of the Yugoslav People's Army. It would lose its national character and, of course, it would no longer be able to bear the name of a people's army—unless it is retained for demagogic purposes. It would have to become a professional and apolitical army of mercenaries which would serve each party in power. Its members would not have the same constitutional rights as the other SFRY citizens and the organization of the League of Communists, which numbers almost 80,000 people, would no longer be able to exist in the Army. These members of the League of Communists would thus be put into a position that would be constitutionally unequal to that of other citizens who have the right to free association.

The moral political state, as one of the main factors of our combat readiness and our combat strength, would be dangerously threatened and would lead to many other negative consequences. The Army, therefore, supports political pluralism but the type that does not have a multiparty character.

### Further on TV Program

*AU0811165789 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIYA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 89 pp 3-5*

[Unattributed report on Vice Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the Committee of the Organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav People's Army, and Vice Admiral Stane Brovet, assistant federal secretary for national defense, answering viewers questions during the Belgrade Television program "Topics and Dilemmas" broadcast on 26 October: "The Army Will Defend the Achievements of the Revolution"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Djordje Lazarev from Strumica: How does the Army view the 1 December holiday?

[Simic] I think that we have too many holidays. It would be better to look for a way of working more, as well as more efficiently, and for us to reach a consensus on possible new general Yugoslav holidays. [passage omitted]

Anonymous female caller from Vinkovci: Has anyone ever taken responsibility for what the Army has done in Kosovo?

[Simic] "What the Army has done in Kosovo" received the official acknowledgement of the SFRY Presidency and the approval of the population of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The Yugoslav People's Army is continuing this and there has so far been no reason for anyone to take responsibility for it. [passage omitted]

Ristic from Nis: As a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, what do you think about the statement by Ciril Ribicic that Slovenia could easily change the name of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and what do you think about the symbol of the yellow star instead of the red one?

[Simic] The comrades are behaving according to the market and in a businesslike way: since the content of the goods has changed, it is now time to change the form (packaging). It is now a question of the new price—how much will this cost us? [passage omitted]

Gentil Petrovic from Zenica: Was the introduction of a state of emergency in Slovenia discussed at a session of the Presidency without the presence of Comrade Drnovsek?

[Brovet] I do not know, but I do not think so.

Andredja Vidakovic from Ivanjica: What do the guests think about the color of the five-point star in Slovenia?

[Brovet] The same as the great majority of Yugoslavs for whom the red five-point star on the flag, coat-of-arms, and military uniforms does not represent a subject for political negotiations with opposition forces or for currying favor with some external circles. These are the symbols of our revolution and our state. [passage omitted]

Ljuba from Belgrade: If it is true that the Army is united, how is it possible that, at the time of the adoption of the Slovene amendments, the representative of the Yugoslav People's Army began presenting the stand of his delegation with the words: "I am sorry that I cannot express myself as a Slovene...." Second, can one not prevent national divisions by scrapping the republics and provinces and proclaiming a unified territory of Yugoslavia with an official language?

[Brovet] I have already answered the first part of the question in this program. Scrapping the republics and provinces and proclaiming a unified territory of Yugoslavia with an official language is, first of all, no solution whatsoever to national divisions, and apart from this it represents the unitarist idea that members of the Yugoslav People's Army not only do not accept this idea but are most energetically opposed to it. [passage omitted]

### Admiral Speaks on Army's 'Yugoslav Essence'

*AU0811160489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 89 p 6*

[Radovan Kovacevic report: "The Yugoslav People's Army Will Carry Out Its Functions Everywhere, Even in Slovenia"]

[Excerpts] Even though the situation in the country is very unfavorable and has the tendency to deteriorate, a way out of the crisis is possible, but only on the basis of solutions that have Yugoslav endorsement. This is the essence of last night's speech by Admiral Bozidar Grubisic, Commander of the Military Naval District and member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to several hundred Split veterans who also included retired generals, admirals, and participants in the Spanish Civil War.

He repeated some well-known stands of the Yugoslav People's Army and described the political scene as a collision between self-managing socialism and antisocialist forces. [passage omitted]

Apart from the classical attacks, there have also been obvious attempts to draw the Yugoslav People's Army into interethnic conflicts. Self-styled advocates and "defenders" of the Armed Forces are also appearing who should be told that the Army defends its Yugoslav essence and national origin. The role of the Yugoslav People's Army is defined by this country's Constitution and not by the desires of individuals, even though they may also occupy senior party posts. There have also been reproaches because of the presence of the Yugoslav People's Army at some great festivities like Gazi Mestan, the Cer battle celebrations, the transfer of the remains of King Nikola, and so on. Grubisic said that the Yugoslav People's Army will appear in places where the proponents of the celebrations are the federation, republics and communes, and sociopolitical organizations, but it will formulate its stands on its presence at festivities extremely carefully. [passage omitted]

There is strong unity among Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army, said Admiral Grubisic. The slogan about disunity has been launched by those who are bothered by the Armed Forces of the SFRY. Regarding party pluralism, we believe that, instead of a movement and party in the struggle for power—which is far from the interests of the workers class—one should affirm the rights of the working person and citizen, give him protection when he freely expresses himself, and give him opportunities to vote which are much wider than the present ones. The voice of the majority in the country is against party pluralism.

There was much anger and irritation in the questions—their own kind of commentary—posed by the Split veterans. Why does the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia not react promptly to events in the country (Bozo Zarkovic) and why is there no reaction against those newspapers and journalists who denigratingly commented on the latest speech by Veljko Kadijevic (Mate Ivanovic)?

In the case of need, how would the Yugoslav People's Army act, considering the limitations in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia after the adoption of the controversial amendments, asked Pero Trutin.

The Yugoslav People's Army carries out and will carry out its constitutional functions on the whole of the territory of this country and even in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, regardless of who thinks what about it, replied Admiral Grubisic, who was spontaneously greeted with loud applause.

## Army Paper Hails New Government Measures

*AU0911143489 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIYA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Oct 89 p 2*

[Milan Jovanovic commentary: "Reform at a Crossroads"]

[Excerpt] Since Ante Markovic's government began its term of office a half a year ago, the "hyperinflationary sword of Damocles" has continually hovered over it, which is best confirmed by the fact that in September alone inflation has increased by 48 percent in relation to the previous month. This disagreeable companion actually appeared in our system much earlier—and it is our government's misfortune that it has manifested itself most at this time—and is endeavoring to disable the government with all its forces and to prevent the implementation of an anti-inflationary program. Thus the battle for time is the most important battle that the Federal Executive Council must win. It seems that "the countdown" has already begun.

The opponents of reform know this well. Thus they are skillfully manipulating the public and are attempting to devalue every move made by the government, accusing it of not having its own anti-inflationary program and working in an almost haphazard way. However, both opponents of reform and all the others who recognize the nature of the present Yugoslav crisis know that the sequence of moves for eliminating the permanent causes of inflation in our country could not be different to the one with which the federal government began. In other words, this meant that the generators of inflation had to be removed from the system—above all the economic system—and new conditions had to be created for direct measures to be taken to curb inflation. One does not go without the other, but changing the system also requires a certain amount of time. The road would have been much shorter had the government begun to implement some sort of direct anti-inflationary measures, which could certainly have "calmed down" inflation for a certain time. However, this much hailed so-called shock-therapy with the freezing of prices and personal incomes would have had the same effect as if a patient is given aspirin to bring down his temperature without the right therapy being used to eliminate the causes of the illness.

Examples of other countries which have fought against and conquered inflation in a relatively short time are used whenever the government is criticized. In this respect, one deliberately loses sight of the fact that these have been countries whose business operations operate according to the market and in which any temporary shift can be eliminated with only direct anti-inflationary measures. It is, however, different with a country like ours, with its system of a consensus economy, if a successful and lasting struggle needs a so-called integrated market to be set up first.

Therefore, it has been rightly stressed in recent days that the battle for reform is at a crossroads. By adopting quite a large number of systemic laws, the federal government has done much to change the economic system. [passage omitted]

## Army Party 'Not Satisfied' With LCY Report

*LD0911233289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2246 GMT 9 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, November 9 (TANJUG)—Members of the Yugoslav People's Army Party committee today noted that the report on the activities of the League of

Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and its Central Committee between Congresses did not say why the federal party leadership did not act more resolutely towards certain leaderships when they did not implement the determined party policy.

Party committee members in the Yugoslav People's Army are also not satisfied with the assessment of the working of democratic centralism in the party. They believe that it should have been [word indistinct] pointed out that this principle is respected within the republican and provincial party organization in the Pagoy [as received] organization in the Army, but that it is respected little in relations between republican and provincial leagues of communists and the LCY Central Committee. Army communists assess that this blocked LCY actions of general interest to Yugoslavia.

It was also said that the report did not answer the question why the LCY, and especially its leadership, lost its initiative in this period, and that it is necessary to establish to whom, why and how.

The Army Party Committee today confirmed the lists of candidates for president, secretary and member of the executive-political body of the LCY Central Committee from the Army Party Organization. This last office is new, since the head of the Army Party organization had previously automatically become a member of the LCY Central Committee presidency.

There will be fewer members in the presidency from now on—a total of 15 instead of the current 23, two from each republican Central Committee and one each from the provincial committee and the army party organization.

## Tupurkovski Speaks on Democratic Processes

*AU0811121589 Belgrade POLITIKA*
*in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 89 p 7*

[M. Krstic report: "The Processes of Democratization Will Not Bypass Even Macedonia"]

[Excerpts] Skopje, 24 Oct—At today's sessions of the chambers of the Macedonian Assembly, particular attention was paid to Yugoslavia's international relations with neighboring countries and the participation of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in creating better relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Republic of Greece. [passage omitted]

Between the long sessions in the Assembly, Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, spoke in the Delegates' Club of the Macedonian Assembly about current sociopolitical issues in the country and the world. Our Yugoslav crisis, he said, is "a complex interaction of objective and subjective factors." It is in fact "a product of the limitations or obsolescence of the model of production relations which have developed as a specific Yugoslav option."

According to Dr Tupurkovski, the way out of the present Yugoslav socioeconomic crisis lies in deep social reforms with the elimination of a voluntaristic position in the sense of the intervention of the state and its apparatus, that is to say, the state party and its symbiosis with the authorities, particularly when this involves the intervention of the state in economic trends.

In Dr Tupurkovski's opinion, in the sequence of reform moves, priority is given to the pluralization of political life which must undoubtedly be approached without prejudice. In this respect, he said that the sharp rise in democratic needs, on the one hand, and the inflexibility of the political structure, on the other, were being increasingly felt in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. He thought that this involved the cadre monopoly, confusion, and affairs.... The processes of democratization in the country will certainly not bypass the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, stressed Tupurkovski.

Speaking about the preparation of the new constitution, Tupurkovski said that next month a working group will send an initiative for changing the constitution to the SFRY Assembly to be debated. In his opinion, this debate should be conducted on the widest bases and not only in the assemblies of the republics and provinces. [passage omitted]

## Different Attitudes to Pluralism Viewed

*AU0911173189 Belgrade BORBA*
*in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 89 p 2*

[Slavko Curuvija commentary: "Differences Over Pluralism"]

[Text] Most of the commentators of the latest plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have unfortunately again been concerned primarily with recounting the cartridges after the latest skirmish in the well-known old and already quite unoriginal and uninteresting battle between the belligerent "coalitions" and recounting the old-new series of insults which these "coalitions" have fired one after another in the quarrel over the resignation of Vukasin Micunovic. Nevertheless a much more important matter has not gone unnoticed in the public, a matter which is just as important if not more important for the future of the political configuration of Yugoslavia. This is the unusual and not quite gentle confrontation between the idea about political pluralism presented in the introductory speech by Ivica Racan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the antithesis presented by the two military chiefs who are members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Stane Brovet and Dimitrije Baucal.

Replying to the question: "What kind of socialism do we want and can we build?"—Ivica Racan first of all mentioned "political pluralism as the shape and contents of the political organization of society," and then "the deregulation of social relations and a certain de-ideologization and depolitization of the state."

Stane Brovet reacted. "I personally do not know of an example of the 'depolitization of the state' which Comrade Racan recommended as our orientation in his introductory speech.... As far as I know, both in single and multiparty systems of government, other state organs also implement the policy of the party in power.... Such a thing could definitely not be the programmatic orientation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia," the vice admiral said. Dimitrije Baucal was even more direct: "Regarding political pluralism, the organization of parties is being implicitly advocated on this occasion. This is being done in quite a contradictory way, but also for the first time in a party document. The concept of the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia speaks about non-party pluralism.... Therefore, the question justifiably occurs to me: What has inspired this turnaround?... Are we also thus agreeing, therefore indirectly, to what is the most serious issue in this, to some different Yugoslavia?

That the whole matter was not cooked up solely between Racan and Brovet and Baucal and that this division has a wider and greater significance is shown by the fact that a quite similar situation and similar discussion was conducted at the session of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia only 2 days before the aforementioned session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Like Racan, the introductory speaker Marjan Kotar, member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, advocated the creation of institutional frameworks for expressing pluralistic forms, which was also later endorsed as one of the stands of the Federal Conference. Like Brovet and Baucal, General Milan Daljevic reacted with identical arguments. He opposed any idea of the introduction of a multiparty system and any thought of a "depolitization" of the Army. Indeed, he did not say who he meant specifically but he gave a more than clear warning that "the advocates of the depolitization of the Army, its confinement to barracks, and even the expulsion of Communists in it are becoming louder and louder." He then asked: "How far have we come and what does all this mean?" He stated in the end: "Since its emergence, our army has developed as a popular, socialist, and all-Yugoslav armed force. Such an army can neither be confined to barracks nor imposed as a force above the people and society. Communists have created this army and they perished alongside it in the battle for a Yugoslavia based on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles and tirelessly worked and is working on the construction of this army. Therefore, anyone who demands or expects Communists to be expelled from the Army are greatly deceiving themselves. This will not come about. In the same way, it should be very specifically said that the introduction into the Army of a system of several parties is unacceptable. This would mean the end of the Army."

This slightly over-detailed listing of stands that should sketch the political attitude of the top Army people to "real and inevitable" political pluralism and the idea about the depolitization of the state and even the Army, can on this occasion be finished with the generally representative main messages from the statements made on Belgrade Television by Admirals Simic and Brovet and Generals Buncic and Cubra the night before last. They state: Political pluralism is acceptable but only as "non-party" pluralism. A multiparty system and the depolitization of the state and the Army within it are absolutely unacceptable.

Bearing in mind the public's usual logic and its penchant, confirmed numerous times in the past and present, for drawing quite synthesized and quite simple conclusions—since the divisions have been clearly reported—it could now be expected that this wider and narrower public will conclude that a pubic and therefore dangerous and potentially unclear polarization is beginning between the Yugoslav civilian political leadership and the Yugoslav military leadership—and this, regarding the question of the political, ideological, and institutional operationalization of "real and inevitable political pluralism" that has been officially endorsed in the last few days. The first consequence of such a synthesized conclusion could be a political division into two camps and then the beginning of a political skirmish in which some people would accuse the politicians of designing a policy which would lead to the creation, to put it mildly, of some "other Yugoslavia," and others will accuse the Army of intending to be an independent political entity, of creating a new coalition, and of interfering in cadre policy....

This fear would not perhaps even deserve increasingly expensive newspaper space to be wasted on it, if it had not already been confirmed in some media reactions to the aforementioned polarization. The Ljubljana DELO sees the described army political position as a significant shift by the army leadership toward a certain other extreme, but Belgrade Television invited admirals and generals into the studio to explain their stands on pluralism and some other current issues in a 2-hour program.

However, even these reactions show that the problem of insisting on the obvious polarization around pluralism and depolitization lies in the fact that this insistence draws the two aforementioned views apart and turns them into antagonistic views.

However, there is no point whatsoever in polarization but there is in coexistence and tolerance. Any serious political analysis could show that the coexistence of the political stand and political practice of both the "civilian" and the "military" leadership is quite possible. That is to say, it is possible to design and implement a political system whose "shape" and "contents" could in fact be political pluralism—and even multiparty pluralism, if it actually comes to that, or at least that pluralism that has the "depolitization of the state" as a prerequisite and a consequence. On the other hand, the situation is possible in such pluralism whereby the Army does not have to lose anything of its present political character which it obviously cares a lot about and for which it has strong arguments. In this situation, it would not have to either "depoliticize" or "expel Communist from barracks" or to renounce its political subjectivity.

If, therefore, instead of vehement disputes and "entrenchment over for now inevitable differences, a pluralistic philosophy of coexistence and tolerance is accepted as a model for an approach to other (most important) political problems—an essentially different meaning and denouement could be given to everything that we have now been talking about.

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### Markovic Says Money, Securities Market Founded

*LD0811182589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 8 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—The introduction of a money and securities market is the first step towards creating an integral market. Preparations are underway to open a stock exchange to provide financial foundations for a commodity and labor exchange. This is what Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, said today at a founding assembly of the money and securities market. He also stressed on this occasion that the work on creating an institutionalized framework for a new economic system was nearing completion. In this way, according to him, the malaise of inflation will be attacked at the root in order to prevent it from recurring again after a certain period of time.

The introduction of a money market will result in the establishment of different relationships not just between the commercial banks themselves, but with the National Bank of Yugoslavia, as well. As a consequence, it will be possible to set a realistic money rate (interest rates) in the supply and demand sectors. In addition, corrections must be made in current deformations which led to the discount rate being below that set by the commercial banks. As a result, money lent by the National Bank was the least expensive instead of the other way around.

As early as the next rebalanced budget the state will appear as a trader in certain types of securities as a way of securing funds to cover deficits. Economic entities such as banks and enterprises should behave in a similar way, that is, by trading in untied money and securities they will secure necessary funds instead of relying on expensive credit. [passage omitted]